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TANGIER
ENGLAND'S LOST ATLANTIC OUTPOST
1661-1684

A PLAN OF "THE CITTY OF TANGER," 1669-70.

TANGIER

ENGLAND'S LOST ATLANTIC OUTPOST

1661-1684

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BY E. M. G. ROUTH

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ENGRAVINGS AND DRAWINGS AFTER WENCESLAUS HOLLAR AND OTHER CONTEMPORARY ARTISTS WITH PORTRAITS AND A MAP

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LONDON

JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET, W.

1912

TO

L. R.

PREFACE

THE story of the English Occupation of Tangier in the reign of Charles II., is to be found among hundreds of contemporary documents and letters, most of which have never been published. By far the most important source of information is the large collection of official correspondence preserved at the Public Record Office, under the heading "*Colonial Office*, 279" (1-49), which contains many letters and reports written by the English Governors of Tangier between 1662 and 1684.[1] The present work is based principally on these manuscript letters, from which a number of extracts are printed. Of many other valuable authorities, the most interesting, perhaps, is a journal written at Tangier by John Luke, secretary to the Governor, between 1671 and 1673 (British Museum MSS.). This journal, which gives many details concerning social life, is, so far as I can ascertain, generally unknown.

My most grateful thanks are due to Mr Hubert Hall, F.S.A., of the Public Record Office, at whose suggestion my work was undertaken, and without whose constant kindness and invaluable advice in my researches it could never have been carried out.

[1] The "old style" of dating letters, though discontinued in London, was in general use at Tangier—possibly because it was still used in ship's logs, and the only communication between Tangier and the outside world was by sea

I have also to thank the Rev. F. E. Hutchinson, of King's College, Cambridge, who kindly undertook for me the necessary researches in the Pepysian Library; Mr G. H. Stephens, C.M.G. (M.Inst.C.E.), who revised my chapter on "The Mole and Harbour"; and others who have given me useful information and advice concerning the authorities to be consulted, and who have most kindly helped me in many ways. The Spanish letters were specially translated for me by Miss L. d'Alberti; the illustrations and map have been arranged and reproduced by Mr Emery Walker, F.S.A.

E. M. G. R.

WENDOVER, *3rd November*, 1911.

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A PLAN OF "THE CITTY OF TANGER." *By* W. HOLLAR, 1669-70 . . . . . *Frontispiece*

This is a careful and detailed plan of the town in 1669-1670, showing the principal buildings, streets, etc. The Mole, however, is depicted in a state of completion to which it was never brought. The "Return" or "Elbow" was never built, and the second mole, which was intended to protect the harbour on the south, was not commenced. The small plan inset shows the sand-hills, and illustrates the disastrous battle in May 1664, when Lord Teviot was killed.

Later plans of Tangier, by John Seller (1680), appear to be based on this one by Hollar. Earlier plans, by Martin Beckman, give less detail, and some are unfinished.

A MAP OF MOROCCO. *Compiled by* Mr EMERY WALKER, F.S.A. . . . . *to face p.* 1

CATHERINE OF BRAGANÇA (INFANTA OF PORTUGAL AND QUEEN-CONSORT OF ENGLAND). *From a portrait by* J. HUYSMAN . . . . . *to face p.* 4

Reproduced, by permission, from Miss L. C. Davidson's "Catherine of Bragança."

EDWARD MONTAGU, FIRST EARL OF SANDWICH. *From a portrait by* Sir PETER LELY. *Engraved by* A. BLOOTELING . . . . . *to face p.* 10

"The Right Hono^ble^ Edward Lord Mountague, Viscount Hinchingbrooke, Earle of Sandwich, K^t^ of the Most Noble Order of the Garter, one of His Ma^ts^ Most Hono^ble^ Privy Counsell, Captaine Generall of the Narrow Seas, Vice-Admirall of England, and Grand Master of the Great Wardrobe."

Sandwich was killed at the Battle of Solebay, in the *Royal James*, in 1672.

TANGIER BAY FROM THE SOUTH-EAST. *From a modern photograph* . . . . . *to face p.* 14

THE NORTH SIDE OF TANGIER—1669. *From an etching by* WENCESLAUS HOLLAR, *in the British Museum* . . . . . *to face p.* 24

This is the first of the series of drawings of Tangier executed by Hollar for Charles II. It is entitled "Prospect of ye North Side of Tangier regarding the Mayne Sea, from the Hill as you come from Whitby or the West toward the Towne." It shows the town walls, "Peterborow Tower" and York Castle. It bears the following inscription:—

"Divers Prospects in and about Tangier, exactly delineated by W. Hollar, his Maj^ties^ designer, A^d^ 1669, and by him afterwards to satisfie the curious, etched in Copper. *And are to be sold by John Overton at the White Horse, without Newgate, London* 1673."

SAMUEL PEPYS. *From a portrait by* GODFREY KNELLER. *Engraved by* K. WHITE . *to face p.* 34

Samuel Pepys (1632-1703), the well-known diarist, Clerk of the Acts for the Navy, was also a Commissioner for the affairs of Tangier. He probably owed his appointment to

the Tangier Committee to the patronage of the Duke of York and the Earl of Sandwich, of whom he was an ardent partisan.

TANGIER — THE TOWN, WITH YORK CASTLE FROM THE SOUTH-EAST. *From an etching by* W. HOLLAR . . . . . *to face p.* 54

"The lower Innerpart of Tangier, with Yorke Castle, etc., from South-East," showing also the Mole, the Straits, and a distant view of the Spanish coast.

TANGIER, WITH THE UPPER CASTLE, FROM THE SOUTH-EAST. *From an etching by* W. HOLLAR . . . . . *to face p.* 72

TANGIER FROM ABOVE, WITHOUT THE WATER-GATE. *From an etching by* W. HOLLAR, 1670 . . . . . *to face p.* 94

This shows part of the old Portuguese wall, with a half-ruined tower. Two officers of the "Tangier" Regiment are shown in the foreground, and in the distance, on the sandy track leading to Cambridge Fort, is a group of men carrying guns, and accompanied by a dog.

THE WEST SIDE OF YORK CASTLE. *From an etching by* W. HOLLAR . . . . *to face p.* 114

"Prospect of the West Side of Yorke Castle at Tangier, right opposite to ye Upper Castle, taken from the hill before the gate, 1669."

TANGIER FROM THE KASBAH. *From a modern photograph* . . . . . *to face p.* 132

THE LOWER PART OF TANGIER, FROM THE HILL WEST OF WHITEHALL. *From an etching by* W. HOLLAR . . . . . *to face p.* 146

TANGIER FROM THE SOUTH-WEST. *From a water-colour drawing by* W. HOLLAR, 1669. (*Print-room, British Museum*) . . . . . *to face p.* 156

The chief interest of this drawing, which gives a good general view of the country round Tangier, lies in the group of figures to the extreme left, which illustrates the costume of the period, and no doubt represents the officers of the Tangier Regiment, probably including Lord Middleton and Sir Palmes (then Major) Fairborne.

HENRIETTA FORT. *From an etching by* W. HOLLAR *to face p.* 170

This plate shows one of the outposts of Tangier which was bravely defended by about thirty men, but which was eventually destroyed by the Moors in 1680.

THE GROUND AND FORTS ROUND TANGIER—1680 . . . . . *to face p.* 194

This plan shows the lines and principal forts round Tangier, and illustrates the disposition of the troops on 27th October 1680.

The names and position of some of the smaller forts cannot always be identified in plans of different dates, probably because, being built of mud, they fell rapidly into decay, and were sometimes rebuilt on new sites. The principal forts, *e.g.*, Charles and Henrietta, were built of stone, and one or two of bricks.

THE KASBAH. *From a modern photograph*
to face p. 222

Showing, at the extreme right of the picture, part of the ruined wall of the "Upper Castle."

CHARLES II., KING OF ENGLAND. *From the picture by* SAMUEL COOPER *in the possession of the Duke of Richmond* . . . . . *to face p.* 238

Reproduced, by permission, from Miss L. C. Davidson's "Catherine of Bragança."

GEORGE LEGGE, LORD DARTMOUTH, ADMIRAL OF THE FLEET. *Reproduced by permission of the Earl of Dartmouth* . . . . *to face p.* 244

Biographical note, page 244.

TANGIER FROM THE WEST, BEFORE IT WAS DEMOLISHED — 1683. *Reproduced, by permission, from a water-colour drawing by* THOMAS PHILLIPS *in the Pepysian Library, Magdalene College, Cambridge.*
to face p. 264

Thomas Phillips (1635(?)-1693) naval gunner, and, later, military engineer, was frequently employed to make maps and plans of existing and required defences. He was sent to assist at the demolition of Tangier in 1683, under Major Beckman, and made sketches of the town and harbour before and after the demolition, in order to demonstrate that the work was thoroughly accomplished.

This drawing shows the Upper Castle, with Peterburgh Tower, the Governor's House, York Castle, and the Mole.

TANGIER FROM THE WEST, AFTER IT WAS DEMOLISHED—1684. *From a drawing by* THOMAS PHILLIPS . . . . . *to face p.* 266

This is the companion sketch to the foregoing, demonstrating the completeness of the destruction of the castles, walls, etc.

On his return to England in 1684, Pepys wrote to Lord Dartmouth: "Your Lordship will doe mighty well (I think) to have Mr Phillips's 3rd draught of the Ruines of Tangier from the Town-ward finished against your coming; for I observe that the King does much long to see those draughts, wee haveing mentioned them, and the idle malice of your foolish ill-willers, haveing insinuated that the work is left not soe perfectly done as wee tell him, and hee is greatly pleased in the assurance that it is."—Pepys to Dartmouth, 5th April 1684. (Dartmouth MSS., Report, i. 114).

TANGIER FROM THE SOUTH-EAST. *From a modern photograph* . . . . *to face p.* 274

This photograph shows a part of the old wall of York Castle and the site of the head of the Mole.

THE SOUTH-EAST CORNER OF TANGIER. *From an etching by* W. HOLLAR . . . *to face p.* 280

This shows the Mole and York Castle, and in the foreground, a group of soldiers on the sand-hills. A distant view is given of the wall shown in the preceding photograph.

WENCESLAUS HOLLAR. *From an engraving with the following inscription* . . . *to face p.* 284

"Gentilhomme né à Prage l'an 1607, a esté de nature fort inclin p^r^ l'art de meniature, principalement pour esclaircir,

mais beaucoup retardé par son père, l'an 1627, il est parti de Prage ayant demeuré en divers lieux en Allemaigne, il ç'est adonné pour peu de temps à esclaircir et apliquer l'eau forte, estant party de Cologne avec le Comte d'Arondel vers Vienne et dillec par Prage vers l'Angleterre, où ayant esté serviteur domestique du Duc de Iorck, il s'est retiré de là à cause de la guerre à Anvers, où il reside encores."

Biographical note, page 283.

THE BOWLING-GREEN AT WHITEHALL. *From an etching by* W. HOLLAR . . . . *to face p.* 284

TANGIER FROM THE EAST. *From an etching by* W. HOLLAR . . . . . *to face p.* 294

VIEW FROM PETERBURGH TOWER. *From a water-colour drawing by* W. HOLLAR. (*Print-room, British Museum*) . . . . . *to face p.* 296

"A Prospect of the Lands and Forts within ye Line of Communication before Tangier, now in the Possession of the English, drawne from Peterborow Tower, by Wenceslaus Hollar, His Maj^tys^ designer. In September A^d^ 1669."

The original drawing, of which a little more than half is reproduced, is a large water-colour, showing the outlying forts and gardens round Tangier, with a part of the town and of the Upper Castle.

THE WEST FRONT OF TANGIER CASTLE. *From an engraving by* W. HOLLAR . . *to face p.* 320

This shows the Upper Castle with the flag flying from Peterburgh Tower, on which a sentry stands on the look-out over the enemies' country. In times of need a "pitch

faggot" lighted on Peterburgh Tower served as a signal to the Commander of the Mediterranean Squadron. A company of foot is seen marching towards Whitby, probably to work at the stone-quarries.

YORK CASTLE FROM THE NORTH-WEST. *From an engraving by* W. HOLLAR . . *to face p.* 346

This shows carts conveying stone along the sea-shore from the quarries at "Whitby" to the head of the Mole; three quarrymen carrying pickaxes follow the second cart.

THE "LITTLE MOLE" WHARF AND CUSTOM-HOUSE — DECEMBER 1675. *From a plan formerly in the Royal collection at Windsor Castle, and now in the Public Record Office . . . to face p.* 354

THE GREAT CHEST, CONSTRUCTED FOR THE MOLE BY HENRY SHERE — JUNE 1677. *From a drawing in the Public Record Office to face p.* 356

TANGIER AND THE MOLE, BEFORE IT WAS DEMOLISHED — 1683. *Reproduced, by permission, from a drawing by* THOMAS PHILLIPS, *in the Pepysian Library, Magdalene College, Cambridge . to face p.* 360

This drawing, which was made fourteen years after Hollar's visit to Tangier, gives an excellent view of the Mole at its most advanced stage, and—notwithstanding the curious effect of high hills in the background—an accurate picture of the town and harbour just before the demolition.

TANGIER IN FEBRUARY 1684. *From a drawing by* THOMAS PHILLIPS . . . . *to face p.* 362

This is the companion sketch to the foregoing drawing of "Tangier and the Mole before it was demolished," showing the ruin of the town and harbour, and the departure of the English fleet. Phillips' pay for his work at Tangier was in arrears at the time of his death, though he continued to be employed as an engineer by the English Government. He directed the bombardment of St Mâlo, and fired a galliot, filled with explosives, under the town wall, which was brought down by the explosion. Phillips died the following day, in Sir John Benbow's ship the *Norwich*, 1693.

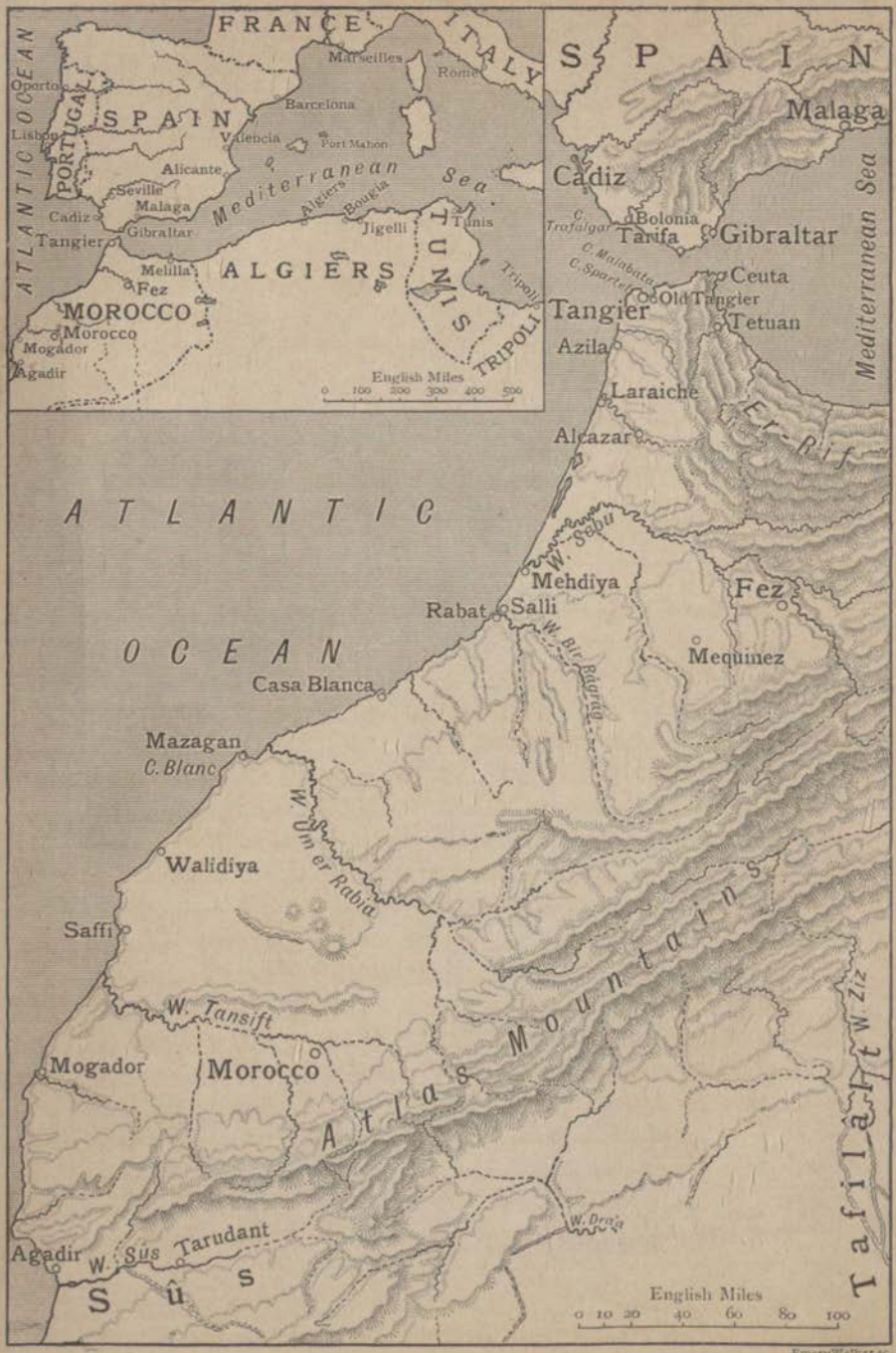
THE MOLE OF TANGIER — 10TH AUGUST 1670 (FOLDING PLATE). *From a drawing formerly in the Royal collection at Windsor Castle and now in the Public Record Office.* (*War Office*, 55. *Ordnance Miscellany*, 1082 A., *vol.* 1784, ... *to face p.* 364

The original plan is a large drawing (about 39 in. × 15 in.) which was sent home by Sir Hugh Cholmley to the King to demonstrate the progress made on the Mole and the capacity of the harbour in August 1670.

This plan illustrates the methods employed in building this Mole—a description of which is given in a note written by Mr G. H. Stephens, C.M.G., on p. 364.

THE ARMORIAL BEARINGS OF CHARLES II, AND CATHERINE OF BRAGANÇA. *By* WENCESLAUS HOLLAR . . . *on the title-page*

This is beautifully executed, and shows the Arms of England combined with the Royal Arms of Portugal.



MAP OF MOROCCO.

[*To face p.* 1.

TANGIER

ENGLAND'S LOST ATLANTIC OUTPOST

CHAPTER I

THE ACQUISITION OF TANGIER—1661

WHEN Charles II. returned to his country and throne in 1660, England had already taken up her position as one of the competitors in the great struggle for the possession of the New World, which took place between the five great powers of Western Europe—England, France, Spain, Portugal and the Dutch United Provinces.

Portugal and Spain had led the way as the discoverers and pioneers of the New World. In 1580 Spain seized the vast possessions which Portugal had won, and added them to her own; in the seventeenth century England, France and the United Provinces entered into successful rivalry with the waning power of Spain. The encouragement of colonial enterprise became one of the principles of English policy, the protection of commerce was recognised as one of the chief needs of the country, experience taught that colonisation and commerce alike must be based on naval supremacy, and from the recognition of these principles arose the long series of contests, first with the Dutch, then with the French, which left England, in the eighteenth century, the greatest colonial power in the world.

At the time of the Restoration of Charles II. England's dominions across the sea were already considerable. She had set her hold on North America; in the East and West Indies English traders and adventurers were disputing with French, Dutch or Spanish rivals; the idea of colonial expan-

sion was daily gaining ground. This idea had strong attractions for the King, and at the outset of his reign its pursuit was definitely included in the aims of his government.

An indication of the trend of Charles's foreign policy was eagerly looked for in his prospective marriage, nor was the interest which this question excited limited to his own island. In the days when dynastic ambition was perpetually on the point of upsetting the balance of power in Europe, the marriage of a king was a matter to engage the attention of all the diplomatists on the Continent.

Three Courts—those of France, Spain and Portugal—were all eager to arrange Charles's marriage to suit their own ends. Of the three, Portugal had the most to gain or lose by the transaction, for in an alliance with England seemed to lie her only hope of national independence. It was only in 1640 that she had set herself free from sixty years of subjection to Spain, and the House of Bragança was now hard pressed to guard the throne against the invading Spanish army; the country was exhausted by war and excessive taxation; the Treaty of the Pyrenees, concluded between Spain and France in 1659, deprived Portugal of all open support from Louis XIV. The Restoration of Charles II. to the English throne made the Queen Regent of Portugal more anxious than ever to revive an old project of a match between the King and her daughter, the Infanta Catherine,[1] "as sweete a disposition princes as ever was born, and a lady of excellent partes, and bred hugely retired."[2]

The first proposals were favourably received at the English Court, but when the Portuguese Ambassador arrived in London in February 1661, with special powers to arrange the match, he found Spanish diplomacy at work against him.[3] He had, however, so much to offer that his proposals could not be lightly set aside.

"He had authority," says Clarendon, "to offer to His

[1] S.P. Portugal, v. 76, 78, 98 (Letters from Consul Maynard); Strickland. "Lives of the Queens of England," iv. 354.

[2] Maynard, Consul at Lisbon. July 19/29, 1661. (S.P. Portugal, v. 155 P.R.O.)

[3] Francisco de Mello, Count da Ponte, Catherine's godfather. Strickland, *op. cit.*, iv. 355, 357; S.P. Portugal, v. 78, 86 (Maynard's Letters).

Majesty £500,000 sterling in ready money as a portion with the Infanta, and likewise to assign over and for ever to annex to the Crown of England the possession of Tangier . . . . a place of that strength and importance as would be of infinite benefit and security to the trade of England;" he was to offer also "free trade in Brazil and the East Indies," and possession of "the island of Bombayne."[1]

Here, then, was an opening for a foreign policy which promised a brilliant future to Charles's ambition, but the King found himself in a position which demanded both tact and boldness to enable him to take advantage of it. Spain was anxious at all costs to effect the re-conquest of Portugal, whose independence she had never recognised; Vatteville, the Spanish Ambassador to London, was almost openly threatening war should Charles persist in the Portuguese alliance, and this at a time when the influential merchant class of England was eagerly looking for peace. The Dutch, too, looked with hostility on a bargain that would unite two of their commercial rivals, and would give to the English those advantages in Brazil and the East Indies which they were trying to wrest from the Portuguese for themselves. It seemed that such opposition might be almost strong enough to frustrate the hopes of the Portuguese Court, but the scale was turned by an assurance sent secretly from France to England that Louis XIV. was in favour of the match.[2]

The young French King, his far-reaching ambition as yet all unsatisfied, had indeed not long since concluded a peace with Spain, and apparently cemented it by his marriage with the Infanta Maria Theresa, but he intended the treaties to be only a vantage-point from which he might seize for himself what remained of Spanish supremacy in Europe. He did not mean to allow the re-conquest of Portugal by Spain, and welcomed the opportunity of obtaining England's support of her independence.

Several reasons combined to allay any misgivings Louis may have felt in helping England to gain a port in the

[1] Clarendon, "Life and Continuation of the Rebellion," i. 491 (1827 ed.).

[2] *Ibid.*, i. 518. Fouquet even offered bribes to the Chancellor, Clarendon, to forward the match, and 300,000 pistoles to help defray any military expenses which it might involve.

Mediterranean. He probably underrated the potential value of Tangier as a naval station, and in any case he was only carrying on Mazarin's policy of making use of England's naval power in that sea until he should be able to replace it with his own. He may have doubted Charles's ability to take peaceful possession of the place, and probably looked with no aversion on the prospect of seeing his rivals in Europe weaken themselves by a naval war, in which England and Portugal would be ranged against Spain and Holland, while France gained leisure to perfect the navy organised by Colbert.[1]

Louis's approval of the proposed English alliance with Portugal was a strong argument in its favour, for Charles infinitely preferred the friendship of France to that of Spain; in the meantime, too, the Spanish Ambassador had overshot his mark by allowing his persuasions to grow into threats. He told Charles that

"he was directed by the King his master to let his Majesty know, that if he should proceed towards a marriage with the daughter of his rebel, the Duke of Braganza, he had orders to take his leave presently, and declare war against him;"

and upon this, Charles, with a rare outburst of royal anger, replied that

"he might be gone as soon as he liked, and that he would not receive orders from the Catholic king how to dispose of himself in marriage."[2]

The unprecedented marriage portion and the commercial advantages offered by the Queen Regent of Portugal seemed to meet the most pressing needs of Charles and his subjects. The dark eyes of the Infanta herself finally decided the question; Charles, having seen her portrait, was convinced

[1] Corbett, "England in the Mediterranean," ii. 9, 24, 31.

[2] Clarendon, i. 514; Strickland, iv. 358, 359. *Cf.* "Letters of Sir R. Fanshaw," p. 67. Copy of a paper presented to the King by the Spanish Ambassador, 3rd May 1661, offering to provide a suitable dowry for the Princess of Orange, or a Princess of Saxony or Denmark, in case of one of these alliances being pleasing to the King.

CATHERINE OF BRAGANÇA,
INFANTA OF PORTUGAL AND QUEEN-CONSORT OF ENGLAND.

[*To face p.* 4.

that she "could not be unhandsome," and was certainly not "dull and foggy," as he said all the German princesses were; and on 8th May 1661 he was able to announce to Parliament, to the satisfaction of his subjects, the conclusion of a marriage treaty with Portugal,

"which," he said, "you will find to contain many great advantages to the kingdom. . . . I will make all the haste possible to fetch you a Queen hither, who, I doubt not, will bring great blessings with her to me and you."

The treaty marks a definite stage in the growth of English foreign policy. Cromwell's dream of a league of crusading Protestant powers was over; Dunkirk, which the Protector had intended to make his starting-point for an advance against Papal Europe, was sold to France soon after the acquisition of Tangier. The two transactions mark the beginning of a new policy, which substituted a bold and hopeful scheme of colonial expansion for the useless tenure of French or Dutch cautionary towns.

It is clear that the King, who at this time took a real interest in Tangier, saw in imagination a busy and prosperous city, the capital of a Moroccan Empire, possessing a harbour which, in the hands of English engineers, would make Tangier one of the best trading stations in the Mediterranean, and would help England to maintain that command of the sea which is the key-stone of her power; a city attracting to its neighbourhood numbers of English settlers and merchants, who would create a growing trade in the interior of Morocco, and who would ultimately make the King's African dominions a self-supporting colony and a source of strength and wealth to the mother-country. It was a vision the realisation of which was no more beyond the bounds of possibility than was the growth of the Indian Empire from the possession of the Island of Bombay.

At the time of his accession Charles was as good a judge of Continental politics as any of his Ministers, and perhaps realised better than most of them the importance to England of a secure foothold in the Mediterranean. It was there that she could get a firmer grasp on the trade which was necessary to her existence, there that she could keep a watch on the

countries of Southern Europe, there that she could strike at the power of her greatest rivals with a surer aim than from any northern port.

It was no idle whim of ignorance that led the King to attach so much importance to his new possession, though the Portuguese had been of late years in a position to reap little benefit from its tenure. He knew that in 1656 Monk had advised Cromwell to secure it by treaty with Portugal. Before the treaty of 1661 was signed he made careful enquiries concerning the value of Tangier as a naval station from two of his Admirals who knew the place—Montagu, now Earl of Sandwich, and Sir John Lawson. The latter spoke highly of it, saying that if the Dutch had it, and made a mole or pier in the harbour, "they would ride securely in all weather, and they would keep the place against all the world, and give the law to all the trade of the Mediterranean"; with which discourse, says Clarendon, "His Majesty was very much affected."[1]

From abroad, too, came reports of the value of Tangier. Consul Maynard wrote from Lisbon that it might in time become a magazine for all the Levant, a port which the Spanish West India fleet, homeward bound for Cadiz, would use in order to avoid the heavy duties imposed in Spanish ports; he added that a station in the Straits would be a valuable asset in case of war with either Holland, Spain, or France.[2]

There was yet another reason which lent immense popularity among all classes in England to the idea of possessing Tangier. Those least learned in State affairs could see the advantage to English merchantmen of a friendly port in the Straits open to them in case of need, for piracy was rife in the Mediterranean, and the far-famed "Salli Rovers," corsairs from Algiers, Tripoli, and Tunis, and privateers of all nations, preyed upon any small trading vessels that ventured to pursue their calling without efficient convoy. Hundreds of

[1] Clarendon, i. 494. *Cf.* Burnet, "History of My Own Time" (O. Airy ed.), i. 305. "It (*i.e.*, Tangier) was then spoken of in the Court in the highest strains of flattery. It was said this would not only give us the entire command of the Mediterranean trade, but it would be a place of safety for a squadron to be kept always there for securing our East and West India trade."

[2] S.P. Portugal, v. 200. December 8/18, 1661.

Christian prisoners—many Englishmen among them—were taken every year by pirates, and sold into slavery in Barbary. The tale of their sufferings under the cruel treatment of their masters, reported by the few who escaped, was repeated throughout Europe. Warfare carried on against these pirates assumed the character of a post-mediæval crusade, and the acquisition of Tangier was welcomed in England as a means of putting down the terror of the Mediterranean, and of advancing the interests of Christendom. On this point the most ardent Republicans and Puritans could sympathise with the King's Government, and many a sea-faring family must have hoped that Tangier might prove a haven of refuge to those who were braving the dangers of pirate-haunted waters, and perhaps at last become the base of expeditions which would effect the release of others who were enduring the tortures of a dreadful slavery.

Year by year the Barbary corsairs earned a fresh right to the title of "The Scourge of Christendom." Their ships infested the seas of Europe, the Mediterranean was their familiar hunting-ground, and two or three of them might always be seen in or about the Straits' mouth lying in wait for richly-laden West Indiamen. They ravaged the coasts of Corsica, Sardinia, Sicily, and Southern Italy; the sea-faring Provençals dreaded their approach; the mouth of the Tagus and the coasts of Portugal knew them well; the shores of France, England, and Ireland suffered at times from a sudden plundering descent; even distant Iceland was once raided for slaves, since its barren coast afforded no other booty.[1]

Between twenty and thirty thousand Europeans were at one time held captive in Algiers alone,[2] sold into slavery by auction, kept in a rigorous confinement and in the most wretched condition of poverty and filth, tortured by barbarous punishments on the slightest provocation. The only mitigation of their misery lay in the heroic charity of the "Redemptionist Fathers" and others, who worked unfailingly to forward their

[1] H. D. de Grammont, "*Etudes Algériennes; La course, l'esclavage et la rédemption à Alger*" ("Revue historique," xxv. 28). *Cf.* R. P. F. Pierre Dan, "Hist. de Barbarie et de ses corsaires," 1637, pp. 276, 277.

[2] Col. R. L. Playfair, "The Scourge of Christendom," p. 8.

release, and who, strangely enough, were allowed to minister to those slaves who remained true to their faith, waiting through the long years for a ransom which too often came only when its work had already been achieved by death.[1]

It may seem a matter for surprise that the Barbary pirates should have been so long allowed to terrorise the shipping of a continent, when concerted action might have crushed them almost at a blow; the cause of their long-continued immunity may be traced to the jealousy of rival nations who found in the depredations of pirates a weapon which they would rather see turned against their own enemies than blunted or destroyed altogether.

In the earlier years of the seventeenth century the burden of the struggle against the Barbary pirates was borne by Spain and Venice alone; but Spain, with a decadent navy, could now hardly protect her own treasure-ships, and as the trade of other nations increased, they, too, entered the lists against the pirates. England, France, and the Dutch Provinces fitted out many an expedition against the North African coast towns, but the English and Dutch played each for their own hand, sometimes using their expeditions as a cover for designs against each other, and France did not awaken to her vocation as a crusader against Islâm until the Peace of the Pyrenees put an end to her need of encouraging piratical attacks on Spanish shipping. Only the Knights of St John of Jerusalem, from their stronghold at Malta, kept up a constant crusade in the Mediterranean, meeting the corsairs by their own methods, and carrying their warfare to the coasts of Barbary. Their order was the terror of piracy, and many a vessel owed its escape to their heroic rescue.[2]

At the beginning of the reign of Charles II., the Algerines, who had for a time been forced into peace by a squadron under Blake, were again attacking English ships. In 1660 the Earl of Winchelsea, Ambassador to Constantinople,

[1] Dan, p. 432, *et seq*; Playfair, pp. 10-14. *Cf.* Lane-Poole, "Barbary Corsairs," p. 251, and Budgett Meakin, "Moorish Empire," chap. xiv.

[2] Grammont, "Revue historique," xxv. 31.

called at Algiers in H.M.S. *Plymouth* to negotiate a new treaty, but after a long dispute with the Divan, he agreed to an article by which liberty was granted to the people of Algiers to search British vessels, and take out of them all foreigners and their goods.[1] This concession the King considered inadmissible, and he determined to send the Earl of Sandwich to insist on better conditions.

The treaty between England and Portugal was signed in June 1661, and on the 19th of the month Sandwich sailed with a fleet of eighteen men-of-war and two fire-ships, with orders to "settle the business of Algiers," and then to proceed to Lisbon to bring home the Queen. In the meantime he was to guard Tangier until the arrival of the garrison. The movements of the English fleet roused suspicion in Spain and Holland, and Sandwich was followed a month later by a Dutch squadron under De Ruyter, also ostensibly intended for service against the pirates, with orders to protect a home-coming Spanish "plate-fleet" from a possible attack by the English ships. All through the autumn the English and Dutch admirals watched each other suspiciously, and in spite of the impatience of the Portuguese their little Princess was kept waiting at Lisbon until Sandwich could secure the safety of Tangier.[2]

Meanwhile Vice-Admiral Lawson was blockading Algiers or cruising in the Straits, until at last De Ruyter retired to Port Mahon to careen, and the tension was relaxed.[3]

Danger from another side still threatened the English occupation of Tangier. The neighbouring Moors, possibly encouraged by Spain, were pressing round the town, hoping to take possession of it before it changed hands. A sortie made by the Portuguese garrison against the Moors ended so disastrously to the former, that on 14th January

[1] The search article was modified by Admiral Lawson's treaty of 10th November 1662. Playfair, "Scourge of Christendom," pp. 80, 85.

[2] Journal of Lord Sandwich, December 1661 (Kennett's "Register," p. 588); S.P. Portugal, v. 190 (Letters of Consul Maynard). *Cf.* Corbett, "England in the Mediterranean," ii. 23, 24.

[3] Corbett, *op. cit.*, ii. 29.

the Governor was forced to appeal for assistance from the English admiral.

Sandwich had now seven or eight ships in Tangier Bay, and gladly seized the opportunity of landing a detachment of sailors, who were able to take possession of the Tangerine strongholds without giving a pretext for opposition on the part of the Portuguese. Eighty men were at once put into the lower castle, and a few days later Sir John Stayner, with a stronger force, was sent into the town.[1] This move was a master-stroke of diplomacy and good fortune, for, though Queen Luisa of Portugal was glad enough to be honourably rid of a possession which was too costly to be maintained by her hard-pressed treasury, some of her subjects in Tangier bitterly resented the cession to English heretics of this, almost the last remnant of their country's once considerable dominions in Morocco, which she had held for nearly two hundred years. Had they had the power they would have resisted the incoming of the English, as their compatriots did at Bombay.

The Governor of Tangier, Fernando de Menezes, the fourteenth member of his house to hold the post, in spite of the proffered compensation of a marquisate, had refused to hand over the city to the English at his Queen's command, considering that to do so would be to insult the memory of his ancestors, who had been "first its conquerors and then so long its defenders."[2] The Queen was forced to supersede him by a more compliant ruler, Don Luis de Almeida, who was rewarded for undertaking the distasteful task by the promise of an earldom and the governorship of Brazil for six years.[3]

Tangier "the White," the "point where the last wave of European civilisation is lost in the great dead sea of African barbarism," a city regarded as accursed by the Moors, still the diplomatic capital of Morocco and the

[1] Sandwich's Journal, 14th January and 17th January (Kennet, p. 617). Pepys's "Diary," 20th February 1661/2. News from Lord Sandwich. "Now the Spaniards' designs of hindering our getting the place are frustrated."

[2] Budgett Meakin, "Land of the Moors," p. 120, quoting from Meneses's "Historia de Tanger."

[3] Maynard's Letters, 4th November 1661 (S.P. Portugal, v. f. 190).

P. Lely Pinxt.
A. Bloemaert Sculp.
The Right Hono.ble Edward Lord Mountague Viscount
Hinchingbrooke Earle of Sandwich K.t of the most noble
Order of the Garter, one of his Ma.ties most Hono.ble Privy Counsell
Captaine Generall of the Narrow Seas, Vice-Admirall
of England, and Grand Master of the great Wardrobe

EDWARD MONTAGU, FIRST EARL OF SANDWICH, ADMIRAL.

(*From a Portrait by* SIR P. LELY.)

[*To face p.* 10.

foremost of its ports, has behind it a long and chequered history.[1]

Legend ascribes its foundation to Hercules, and its name to Tangerah, his wife; history proves it to be a city of undoubted antiquity, and in its day one of great magnificence. It was at one time in the hands of the Romans, and later in those of the Goths. In the early history of Morocco the coming of the Arabs made it a centre of warfare between native Berbers and invading Moslems; it stood a siege at the hands of almost every new pretender to power during the struggles that ensued; the Moorish invasions of Spain gave it added importance as a base of operations. The Portuguese found it still an impregnable stronghold in 1437, when Henry the Navigator and his two brothers besieged it in vain for twenty-five days, with a force of four thousand foot and two thousand horse entrenched against the city, and with the help of heavy artillery and a co-operating fleet.

It was only a panic among the people of Tangier on the occasion of a revolution in Morocco that finally enabled the Portuguese to enter the city without striking a blow in 1471, and they held it, and with it a goodly strip of North Morocco, until, in 1580, Portugal and her possessions fell under the sway of Spain. When Portugal regained her independence in 1640, Tangier was retained for a while by Spain, but three years later was again in Portuguese hands. The Spaniards, however, still looked upon it with envious eyes, professing to regard it as a rebel city, and refusing to recognise the justice of England's claim of ownership,[2] still hoping, by force or intrigue, to add it once more to their own diminishing possessions in Africa.

[1] Budgett Meakin, "Land of the Moors," p. 87: "Known to the Moors as Thighrah Tanjah, *i.e.*, Frontier Tangier. The French and Germans spell it Tanger, the Spaniards Tánger, the Portuguese Tangere, the Italians Tangeri, and uninformed English writers sometimes add that final 's' . . . the accent being shifted from the first to the second syllable, which should be avoided."

For the early history of Tangier, *see* Budgett Meakin, "Land of the Moors," chap. v., and "The Moorish Empire"; also Edmondo de Amicis, "Morocco, its People and Places."

[2] C.O. 279, 3 (P.R.O.), f. 37, 23rd March/2nd April 1664 "Fanshaw Papers" from Seville).

CHAPTER II

THE ARRIVAL OF THE ENGLISH—1662

WHILE Sandwich was guarding English interests in the Mediterranean, busy preparations were going on at home to send out a garrison for Tangier.

Henry Mordaunt, Earl of Peterburgh,[1] was appointed Governor of Tangier, and received his commission in September 1661; in October a committee was appointed by royal warrant to "take into special consideration the establishment prepared for Tangier," and to superintend the fitting out of the expedition. In January Peterburgh was ready to sail, with about three thousand men under his command. One regiment he had raised under commission specially for service at Tangier, together with a troop of a hundred horse; the rest were seasoned regiments lately arrived from the garrison of Dunkirk.[2]

With these troops, and the wives and families of two or three hundred of the soldiers, Peterburgh set sail from the Downs on 15th January 1662. Royal interest in the

[1] Henry Mordaunt, 2nd Earl of Peterburgh, 1624 (?) — 1697. Son of John, 1st Earl, educated at Eton under Sir Henry Wotton. Shortly before the outbreak of the civil war he was sent to France. He returned to England in 1642, and served for a short time in the Parliamentary army, but deserted to the King at Oxford in April 1643. He served in the Royalist army with gallantry and distinction, and raised a regiment at his own expense. After his return from Tangier he served in the Dutch war. On 10th July 1674 he was sworn of the Privy Council, and in 1676 was appointed Deputy-Earl-Marshal, but was in 1680 deprived of his office and excluded from the Council till 1683, on suspicion of complicity in the "Popish Plot." He entered the Church of Rome in 1687. He was for some years Lord Lieutenant of Northamptonshire ("Dictionary of National Biography").

[2] *See* chapter on "The Garrison."

expedition was expressed in the following letter from the King:—

"MY LORD PETERBURGH.—I am very well satisfied of your care and diligence in the employment you are in, for wth I thanke you very hartily and assure yourselfe I have so just a sense of this and all your other services as you shall finde upon all occasions how much I esteeme and vallew those who serve me faithfully.

"I have noe more to adde att present only to desire you to lett those honest men knowe who goe along with you that they shall alwayes be in my particular care and protection, as persons that venture themselves in my service, and soe wishing you a good voyage, I remaine, your very affnate friend, CHARLES R.

"WHITEHALL, ye 21st of 10^ber^ 1661."[1]

So fine was the weather, and so favourable the wind, that the twenty-seven ships of the fleet kept together throughout the voyage, and after a rapid passage anchored in the spacious Bay of Tangier at midday on Wednesday, 29th January. As the English crowded on deck to catch their first glimpse of an unknown land, Morocco seemed to give them a smiling welcome, with little hint of the difficulties and dangers that were to come. The calm waters of the bay reflected a sky of a deeper blue than any they had ever seen from England. Between two little hills lay the white-walled city of Tangier, its red-tiled roofs glowing in the brilliant African sunshine, making a patch of colour in the green landscape; the narrow streets climbed steeply up from the beach towards the castle, which stood, surrounded by gardens, high above the bay. Beyond, to the west, rose Spartel Hill, the westernmost point of Africa; eastwards a broad strip of land fringed the Bay, flanked by a belt of sand-hills, which screened from view the fertile country beyond. The walls of the town were already manned by English seamen; no enemy disputed their possession—so far there was no visible sign of anything but peace and prosperity. Peterburgh found Lord Sandwich awaiting his arrival, and

[1] Harl. MSS., 6844, f. 115.

at once went ashore with him to make arrangements for taking over the city.

The next day the new Governor marched into Tangier at the head of his regiment, and with picturesque ceremony received from Don Luis de Almedia the insignia of his office, the keys of the city, with a horse, saddle and bridle, silver spurs, a scimitar and a lance.[1]

Now, in spite of all threatened opposition, the English were in actual possession of Tangier, and it may well have seemed to the new-comers that in the keys of the city their commander held the keys of the gate of Africa, through which they would soon pass to gather the fabulous treasures of a hitherto unexplored Eldorado.

If any of Peterburgh's companions did indeed indulge in such a dream of good fortune, they were doomed to an abrupt awakening to disagreeable facts, as they realised that no provision had been made for their comfort or convenience in their new quarters.

No sooner had Peterburgh landed than he found that there was available room for no more than one-third of his troops, so that some of them had to be quartered on the Portuguese inhabitants, who were already indignant at the cession of their city, and were still further incensed by the behaviour of the English soldiers, whom they accused of sacking their houses and breaking images and sacred vessels in the convent. A proclamation was issued by Peterburgh forbidding his soldiers to affront the Portuguese in the streets, or to enter houses or grounds belonging to them.[2] Before this order several houses were broken into; and besides this,

"The free conversation which in the north is used between men and women was intolerable to a people that made jealousy their honour, and therefore could not submit to those public liberties which soldiers would take with their wives and daughters."[3]

One of Peterburgh's first acts, in accordance with the King's instructions, was to make a conciliatory proclamation

[1] Sandwich (Kennet's "Register," p. 617).
[2] Rawlinson MSS., D. 916, 2.
[3] Cholmley, "An Account of Tangier," p. 17.

TANGIER BAY FROM THE SOUTH-EAST (FROM A MODERN PHOTOGRAPH).

[*To face p.* 14.

inviting the Portuguese to remain at Tangier, and to enrol themselves as soldiers under an "Ædile" of their own, but they "expressed a general resolution to depart."[1] Don Luis de Almeida agreed to ship off his countrymen to Portugal, and before the English had well settled in, a clamouring crowd of Portuguese was to be seen hurrying down to the shore, casting jealous looks at the intruders and carrying off everything they could lay hands on, down to "the very ffloers, the Windowes and the Dores."[2]

The new garrison had expected to find itself comfortably quartered in a town with the ordinary machinery of trade and business in full working order, and common necessaries easily obtainable; instead of this there was nothing but doorless, windowless houses,

"The place left very little better than a ruin of walls," as Peterburgh reported, "and full of spoile, scarsity and want as to all such materialls and utensills as could have given assistance to English souldiers." Even the artillery which the Portuguese had agreed to hand over was almost useless, "the Gunns being the greatest part dismounted and the rest with carriages unfit for service on any occasion."[3]

The sudden departure of the Portuguese left the soldiers of the garrison no better off than pioneers in a new country; it deprived them of all the advantages of experience in dealing with the Moors and in trading with Spanish and Portuguese merchants, as well as of the countless services which might have been rendered by competent builders, carpenters, and other work-people. There remained to initiate the garrison into an entirely new way of living, only a very few of the poorest Portuguese, about half-a-dozen monks, and some families of Jews,

"a kind of retayling dealers which in the infancie of our settlement were not unuseful to the Garrison, the men whereof were altogether ignorant and helpless as to furnish themselves with any of those accomodacions necessary to humane life."[4]

[1] Peterburgh to the King (Harl. MSS., 6844, f. 113).

[2] Peterburgh's Report to the Lords of the Council, Feb. 17, 1661/2, written from "The Cassel of Tanger" (C.O. p. 79, i. f. 90).

[3] Peterburgh's Reports (C.O., 279, i. ff. 90, 92, Feb. 12 and 17).

[4] *Ibid* (C.O. 279, 33. i. ff. 134 *et seq.*)

The old campaigners from Dunkirk no doubt knew how to make the best of hardships, but Peterburgh's raw levies were hard put to it without "Bedds to lye upon" and "Iron Potts to boile there meate in"; some of them were almost starved, and many fell ill. They would have been in still greater straits had it not been for the valuable assistance given by Sandwich and his sailors, who supplied the garrison with fuel and other necessaries, and were busy for a fortnight landing stores, and provisions—a difficult task, as the ships were blown from their anchors—and taking off some of the Portuguese and their belongings. "Had not his Lordship continued his care," said Peterburgh, "I know not to what extremity we should have come."[1] Nevertheless, the first letters home were written in a hopeful tone. "This Citty of Tanger will be if sustain'd at first, soe considerable as to pay back all," Peterburgh wrote; "In the meantime it must be nourished." Having done all in his power for the safety and comfort of the garrison, Sandwich sailed for Lisbon on the 18th of February, to escort the Queen to England. Before he left Tangier he made a survey of the bay, and took soundings about the ledge of rocks running out from the shore on the north side, with a view to constructing a stone pier or breakwater, which became famous by the name of the "Mole" of Tangier.

As Peterburgh looked at the handful of troops at his command, already nearly three hundred short of their proper strength, he must have felt some misgivings as to his ability to carry out the work intrusted to his "honour, courage,

[1] By order of a Council of Officers held at Tangier on 12th February 1661/2, a long list of absolute necessaries was drawn up to be sent to the Ordnance office, by the "Ingineer, the Commissary of Amunition, the Firemaster, the Master Gunner, and the Carpinter"; it included "shells, hand granadoes, salt peter, sulphur, pitch, oile, tallow, beeswax, canvas, twine, thredd, needles, copper kittle, powder-hornes, nayles, sheet-lead, bedds, brandy, lanthornes," and many other items. It was agreed by the Council of 12th February that payments for the garrison, which were supposed to be made every three months, should be expended as follows: "Some trusty person in England to provide Pease and Oatmeale for 3,218 men three moneths, after the rate of 4 Pintes of Pease and 3 Pintes of Oatmeale aweeke to each man." The remainder of the three months' pay to buy "5 pds of wheat and 10 oz of oile each man aweeke" in Cadiz; "the small overplus of money to be sent to the Souldier" (C.O. 279, i. f. 92).

wisdom and fidelity" by the King's commission of 16th September, which appointed him

"Chiefe Governor of Our City of Tangier and suburbs thereof and of all other Citys Towns and Villages, Forts, Castles and Islands Lands and Countreys which now are or which hereafter . . . shall be delivered or reduced to Our obedience."

This Commission is a remarkable document; it sketches in clear outlines a bold and ambitious policy which contained the elements of success, but which was destined to be confused and spoiled through the inability of the government of Charles II. to carry out the well-designed plan of commercial and colonial expansion.

"Whereas," runs the commission, "We intend forthwith to settle and secure Our Citty of Tanger and the teretories and dominions adjacent in or nere the Coasts of Barbary or the Kingdomes of Sus, Fez and Morocco. . . . We appoint you the said Henry Earle of Peterburgh Governor-General of all forces, both horse and foot . . . which are or shall remaine or be drawen into Our Citty of Tanger or any other of our Dominions or Territoryes in or nere the said Kingdoms of Sus, Fez and Morocco, and of all fortes Citys Castles or other partes or places whatsoever which by your conduct and successes shall be reduced to our Obedience and subjection."

Peterburgh was given full authority over the troops raised for Tangier, and there follows an order to

"arme traine conduct and lead out or otherwise employ the Natives or other Inhabitants if need shall require and with them to defend our said Citty of Tanger and anie other our Dominions . . . and to leade them forth against anie enemies, Rebells or Traytors. And them to fight, kill, slay and subdue to our obedience, and to invade surprize and reduce such Towns, Forts, Castles or Countreys as shall declare or mainteine anie hostilitie against us, or that may indanger the Peace or securitie of our Cittie or terretories aforesaid, and to possess and strengthen them with Forts and garrisons, raze, dismantle or disable them as to you shall seem expedient, and to arme discipline and to enterteine into your

service all such as you shall thinke fitt to receive into your comaund out of anie the kingdomes dominions or territories aforesaid."[1]

The Governor was also appointed Vice-Admiral, with authority to give orders to all naval forces and Commanders commissioned to attend on Tangier and on the coast of Africa, and to require them to prosecute any design which he should judge to be for the service of the King; he was empowered to constitute a Court of Admiralty "for the hearing and determining all maritime causes," and to make laws and ordinances "as neere as may be conformeable to the Lawes of England for the better carrying on of the Civil government of our Citty of Tanger."

He was authorised to give every possible encouragement to trade. The following clause of the further instructions which Peterburgh received strongly emphasises the importance attached to this point by the King:—

"Our main design in puting ourself to this great charge for making this Addition to our Dominions being to gaine our Subjects the Trade of Barbary and to enlarge our Dominions in that Sea . . . we are gratiously pleased that no duties or customes or other taxes whatsoever shall be lay'd by us upon any good Imported to or exported from our Citty of Tanger, and that it shall be and remaine a free port."

Tangier was delared a free port on 16th November 1662—free, that is, to all merchants, English or foreign, except those coming from beyond the Cape of Good Hope or from the English plantations.[2]

[1] The "Natives or other Inhabitants" referred to above were probably the Portuguese at Tangier, but the last clause indicates that the Government of Charles II. had the idea of enlisting native troops in Morocco.

[2] This regulation was sometimes disregarded. *Cf.* Calendar of Treasury Books, ii. 201-2. Complaints from the Treasury to Governors of various plantations that Navigation Acts are infringed by ships trading to Tangier from other plantations, without a certificate from the Customs in England, 12th November 1667. *Ibid.*, p. 449. Complaint of Customs' farmers *re* ships from Barbados unlading at Tangier and paying custom to the Deputy-Governor, 15th October 1668.

All goods landed were to be registered, and a nominal duty of 5s. was imposed on every £100 worth of goods, which might then be sold without further imposition.

It was also enacted that all merchandise exported to England or Ireland from Tangier was to be sent in English ships, manned by English mariners. These provisions were to hold good for a period of five years.

Peterburgh was commanded to encourage the King's subjects, and merchants of any nation, to reside and trade in Tangier, and, most important duty of all, he was to take steps to improve the harbour and to "speedyly consider of the making of a mould for a sure station of shipping."

The trade of Barbary at this time presented to English enterprise a rich and almost unworked field. In Spain, Italy and England there was a good demand for Moorish commodities, such as corn, beeswax, hides, oils, gums, dates, "oastridge feathers," copper and "good Barbary gold"; while English merchants found a ready sale among the Moors for broad-cloth, tin, lead and iron, and certain goods from the East Indies and the Levant, to say nothing of the much-coveted contraband goods—guns and powder.[1]

This field had been left untouched by the "Royal African Company," to which had been granted the monopoly of trade from Salli to the Cape of Good Hope.[2] The small amount of trade carried on in the interior of Morocco was almost entirely in the hands of Jews, and only a few European traders ventured to pursue their business in the coast towns.

Foreign trade in the seventeenth century was largely monopolised by the great trading companies which arose through political necessity, and assumed much of the responsibility and authority of colonial government.[3] In remote,

[1] Harl. MSS., 1595, f. 20. Cal. S.P. Colonial, 1664-1674, p. 412.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] *Cf.* W. A. S. Hewins, "English Trade and Finance in the Seventeenth Century," chap. iii. E. J. Payne, "History of European Colonies," p. 99: "Settlements of Europeans abroad were held to be not *nations*, but proprietary domains or farms, worked for the benefit of the Mother Country." Egerton, "English Colonial History," p. 20: "In the absence of credit and the scarcity of revenue and in the corruption which caused the little to become quickly the less, it was out of the power of the State to carry through great undertakings such as the development of new colonies."

and barbarous countries they defended the interests of their members in disputes with native governments, and private individuals—"interlopers"—who tried to break down their monopolies, stood little chance of building up a successful business.

It was obvious that in Morocco a successful trade could more easily be organised by a powerful association with means to enforce its claims, than by the handful of individuals who had been, or might be, bold enough to hazard property and life in the insecurity of a Moorish town, always threatened by the double danger of fanaticism and plague. From this consideration came a proposal of forming a "Morocco Company" with all the usual privileges of monopoly, and with permission to erect fortifications for the protection of any trading stations that might be established in Morocco.[1]

About this time the Island of Bombay, acquired with Tangier, was granted to the East India Company "in free and common socage" at an annual rent of £10.

The history of English enterprise in Morocco might have been very different had the proposed company come into existence. The proposal, however, met with a storm of opposition from the "antient traders of Barbary" and from others who hoped to make their fortunes at Tangier.[2]

All through the English occupation the chief object of Tangerine merchants was to secure the monopoly of Moroccan

[1] Harl. MSS., 1595 f. 12 (Papers relating to Commerce, etc.): "A Copie of ye docket for ye Morocco Company endeavoured to be raysed, 7ber 1661: A graunt unto his Highnes Royall, Lord Willoughby of Parham, Coll. Willm Legg and to Thomas Cullinge, Alexr Benn, Robert Starr, John Lewis and Philip Payne of London, Marchants, of all regions countreys and territories from Cape Blanco . . . unto two leagues ye Northward of Salley . . . and ye free trade thereof . . . and His Majesty doth hereby incorporate them by ye name of ye Morocco Company." They may deduct £1,500 yearly out of the customs for merchandise exported thence, towards the erection of fortifications.

[2] Harl. MSS., 1595. 13. Reasons against ye erecting of a Morocco Company —Mr Luke's. *Ibid.*, 14*b*. Reasons against ye same by Mr Povey. 16*b*. The Merchants reasons. 18*b*. Protest of "antient traders of Barbary" (Thos. Warren, Thos. and Geo. Smith, W. Bennett, Richd. Laud and Nathl. Lodington) against ye patent endeavoured after by certaine persons most of them strangers to ye trade."

trade;[1] they were jealously anxious to prevent the import or export of goods at any other port, and urged the King to consider the disadvantages to their own town which might arise from the establishment of a company whose interests would extend all along the coast. The project was accordingly dropped, and the trade of Tangier was left to private enterprise. Various methods were proposed by which the new colony might be peopled and trade secured without the agency of a company. One anonymous optimist thought that if all offenders at the first fault were sent to Morocco they would become honest people, though he adds cautiously, "there must be speciall care had that weomen be amoghst them . . . otherwise no Governor will be able to rule them." As an alternative plan he proposed that one-third of the people of Scotland should be deported to Morocco, "his Majesty's revenue would be increased by their transport thither."[2] The former proposal was based on the practice of sending prisoners and other undesirables to help colonise Virginia;[3] it was not largely adopted for Tangier, though occasionally the Government succumbed to the tempting policy of using the colony as the rubbish heap of the country, and sent out convicted criminals and political prisoners.

The English garrison had no sooner taken charge of Tangier than the Governor was called upon to face the problem of English relations with the Moors—a problem never satisfactorily solved during the two-and-twenty years of the Occupation. Peterburgh was not the man to carry through the project, indicated in his commission, of enlisting and training native troops; had Tangier been served by a Lawrence or a Lumsden, some of the independent Berber tribes might have been induced to furnish recruits for at least a troop of "Guides," who would as soon have fought for an English king as for a Moorish emperor; but the successive Commanders-in-Chief at Tangier had neither time nor talent enough at their disposal to make even the

[1] *Cf.* Mem. of the Earl of Teviot: "It is humbly represented that all English shipps going towards Sallie or Tituan be obleidged first to unload at Tangier." Marginal note, "agreede." (C.O. 279, 2, f. 178.)

[2] Harl. MSS., 1595, f. 23½.

[3] Egerton, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

beginnings of a native army, though fine fighting material was not far to seek. A few Moors appear to have entered Peterburgh's service in 1662,[1] but their number did not increase.

It was hardly to be expected that so hard a task as that of winning the friendship of the natives of Morocco could be accomplished without mistakes; knowledge could only be bought by experience. Most Englishmen in the seventeenth century knew little of uncivilised peoples, and nothing at all of the Moors; all Mohammedans they called "Turks," regardless of race or country.[2] Those who went to Tangier did, indeed, distinguish the "Black-a-Moors" from Turks, but curious ideas about them still prevailed. They were generally thought to be "a very effeminate people," because they had failed to dislodge the Portuguese from Morocco, and one contemporary writer gravely stated that a Moorish child was born near Tangier "with Eagle's Bill, Claws, and Feathers too," and added with apparent surprise, "but the people that we converse with are as other men."[3]

At the beginning of the English Occupation, Peterburgh, in unfortunate imitation of the Portuguese, began negotiations with the Moors by expending £400 in "donatives to the chief persons in the countries adjacent to Tangier, according to custom upon the first entrance of a new Governor there."[4] These payments were regarded by the Moors, not as gifts to be repaid by friendship, but as a tribute exacted by the followers of the Prophet from timid and subservient infidels.

The English first entered Tangier during a period of upheaval in the history of Morocco. The Sâadi dynasty, after nearly a century and a half of sovereignty, was just coming to an end; the province of Sûs had set up an

[1] Cal. S.P. Dom., 14th January 1666/7, p. 453: "Petition of Peter the Moor to the King, to be mounted and listed in the Life Guard, or to have some employment in the Navy. Served 5 years at Tangier bringing in horses, cattle, etc., for the garrison. His brother and 12 more natives were slain in the service."

[2] *Cf.* Collect of Intercession for "Jews, *Turks*, Infidels and Hereticks" used on Good Friday (Prayer Book of the Church of England).

[3] "Description of Tangier," p. 61 (583, c, 8. Pamphlets, Brit. Mus.).

[4] Money warrant, 30th November 1661 (Cal. of Treasury Books, i. 310).

independent administration, and Fez had invited the rule of Mohammed, one of a race of Filáli Shareefs who claimed descent from the Prophet, and who had settled, early in the fourteenth century, in Tafilàlt, the famous date-growing country south of the Atlas, to which they gave their name. In 1662 Er Rasheed II., one of the Shareefian race, whom the English knew as "the great Tafiletta," was fighting for supremacy against his brother Mohammed, whom he killed in battle in 1664. Later on he seized Marrákesh (Morocco City), and during the eight years of bloodshed and tyranny which constituted his reign, he consolidated the tottering Moorish Empire, and settled the Filális securely upon the throne.[1]

Among the supporters of Mohammed against "the great Tafiletta" was Abd Allah Ghaïlán, known to the English as "Gayland" or "Guyland," the leader of four tribes of plain-dwelling Arabs and eighteen of Berbers from the hills.[2] He was a bold and ambitious man who hoped to carve out for himself a kingdom in Northern Fez as the price of his support of one of the Filáli rivals; he had no right to the title of "Emperor or Prince of West Barbary," which the English attributed to him, but he was the foe with whom they had at first actually to deal, for he commanded the effective fighting force of the Moors near Tangier, and proved himself a fierce and unscrupulous enemy.

The following remarkable description of Ghaïlán comes from the pen of the imaginative writer who tells of the child with "Eagle's Bill, Claws and Feathers too," and is probably not of much historical value:—

"His Person looks handsomer than his condition: his Look is fat and plain, but his Nature close and reserved. He is plump yet melancholy, valiant yet sly, boysterous

[1] *See* Budgett Meakin, "The Moorish Empire" for history of Morocco; also Chénier, "Recherches historiques sur les Maures."

[2] The name "Moor," strictly speaking, is only applicable to a comparatively small proportion of Berbers amalgamated with Arabs in the cities of Morocco. (Budgett Meakin, "Life in Morocco," p. 15, and "The Moors," pp. 1, 2). In the present volume it is used in the generally-accepted sense, to denote any native of Morocco.

yet of few words; watchful and lustful; careful and intemperate; a contradiction in Nature.

"He hath two Qualities that may do anything. 1. Perfidiousness. 2. Cruelty. When he swears most solemnly, then you may be sure he lyeth, so treacherous he is: and when fawns most basely, then you must look for mischief, so bloody he is.

"His weapon," continues the writer, "is Bow and Arrow, an Iron Pole, a Skrene, a Petronel, a Harque-buz, a Scemiter, all over armed like a Porcupine."

While the English garrison was landing at Tangier, this redoubtable warrior was fortunately engaged in a war of his own against a "Saint" of Salli, whom the English called "Ben Bowcar"; but before March was over, Peterburgh had to report considerable correspondence with "Gayland," who sent in messengers with a white flag, followed after a few days by "three great personages," whom he empowered to discuss the situation, to the end that—so he averred—when he and Peterburgh should meet, they should have "only to shake hands and embrace, and have no further occasion of dispute."

That he had not the least intention of fulfilling his professions of friendship was proved by the immediate refusal of his permission to the English to gather the wood they needed for fuel, within nine miles of Tangier.

Before long he himself arrived before Tangier at the head of an army of about five thousand horse, according to Peterburgh's estimate; "able, dexterous, sober, valliant, incomparably well armed and cloathed and Horsed."

The force at Peterburgh's command was so inadequate to meet this army, that he thought his only course was to send for more coals to England instead of cutting wood in the neighbourhood, and to make peace for six months on the Moors' own terms, in order to procure their "love and confidence," and to show them "what manner of people the English were."

Ghailán was so much encouraged by the unexpected compliance of the Governor of Tangier that he promptly increased his demands. When all was at last agreed, and Peterburgh had sent out officers to "view and mark bounds," Ghailán refused to sign the treaty taken to his camp by

Divers Prospects in and about
TANGIER
Exactly delineated by W: Hollar his Mayr
designer Ao 1669 and by him afterwards
to satisfie the curious, etchd in Copper
And are to be Sold by John Overton at the
White Horse without Newgate London 1673
Peterborow Tower
Yorke Castle
Prospect of ye North side of Tangier regarding the mayne Sea from the hill as you come from Whitby or the West, toward the Towne

Yorke Castle. Peterborow Tower.

THE NORTH SIDE OF TANGIER, 1669.

BY WENCESLAUS HOLLAR.

[To face p. 24.

the English commissioners, drew up another list of concessions to be signed by the Governor, and sent it into the town in the evening.

He demanded among other things fifty barrels of powder, the use of English ships whenever he wanted them, the prohibition of trade between Tangier and Tetuan, a town with which he was then at war, and the refusal of shelter to Moorish refugees in Tangier. Such terms were clearly impossible, however pressing the need for peace, and Peterburg professed himself unable to dispose of his Majesty's ships of war at the request of a foreign chief, and refused to prohibit trade with Tetuan. Thereupon Ghaïlán, who seems to have used the negotiations merely as a means of discovering the strength of the garrison, moved off with his army without further parley, and Peterburgh guessed that any advantages, and, above all, any cession of territory, must be won from the Moors at the sword's point.

"Jealous they are beyond all measure of there land," he wrote, "the goodnesse whereof I confesse I think capable to invite all the world."[1]

During the next few months the garrison suffered every possible annoyance from Ghaïlán's people, who were incessantly on the watch to drive off cattle, to surprise foraging parties, and to cut off every man who ventured far from the walls.

The skill of the Moors in taking cover was a source of amazement to the English soldiers, unlearned as they were in irregular warfare, and dangerously ignorant of the all-important art of scouting; they lost many a man through undiscovered ambuscades before they realised that the Moors could "lodge themselves in the ferns and among the rising grounds, so that you may ride through those very grounds and not discover a man."

Serious losses were incurred in this way on 3rd May, when five hundred English soldiers, led by Colonel Fines,[2]

[1] Peterburgh's Reports, April 1662 (C.O. 279, 1, 108 *et seq.*).

[2] Fines or Fiennes, Major in Colonel Harley's regiment, and afterwards in Lord Teviot's (Dalton, "Army Lists," i. 9, 38, etc.).

made an apparently successful sortie against an attacking force of Moors. Making sure of victory, they pursued the enemy too far from their own base: a hidden host rose behind them from among the sand-hills; they had to fight their way back with greatly diminished numbers, and the date was marked in the Moorish calendar as one of good omen for the arms of the Prophet.[1]

Other skirmishes followed in which the enemy's losses could not be accurately known; the English muster-rolls show a loss of six hundred and five men in scarcely nine months. Tangier soon acquired more than its anticipated reputation as a training-school for the troops which the King was anxious to maintain, but could not venture to keep at home until his people had forgotten a little of their lately-acquired dread of military despotism.

It was a hard school for a garrison so deficient in cavalry, and Peterburgh's men deserved the admiration of their countrymen for the tenacity with which they held their own against so skilful an enemy.

The troops under Ghailán's command were estimated at seventeen thousand at least,[2] and most of these were Berbers, mounted on little hill-ponies as hardy and untiring as their riders, who could be mobilised with extraordinary rapidity. Though these earlier attacks were not to be compared with the later well-organised siege of Tangier, the Moors had learnt enough of musketry from European renegades to render them formidable enemies. It is true that Ghailán could not keep his forces in the field for many months at a time, depending for provisions as he did on the daily foraging of his men; but when he needed a respite he had only to retire from Tangier and send in valueless offers of peace to the garrison, which he knew was not strong enough to take much advantage of his temporary inaction. His hostility

[1] Rawl. MSS., D. 916, f. 78, and Davis's "History of the Second Queen's (Royal West Surrey) Regiment," i. 33.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 106-8. L. Addison, "Account of West Barbary," gives the number of his forces in 1666 as 17,500; the writer of "A Description of Tangier," (583 c. 8, Brit. Mus. gives it as "27,000 Horse, 2,000 Harquebuziers and 6,000 Royal Squadron of Gentlemen," the latter mounted on excellent horses "with furniture and arms for variety of colours most beautiful, and for riches of armament beyond measure estimable, for everything about them shineth with gold, silver, pearls, jewels, and whatsoever else may please the eye"

might have had more serious consequences had it not been for the Moorish rivals who engaged much of his attention; the troubled state of Morocco brought to the front many would-be princes, with three of whom—known to them as "Ben Bowcar," "Bosan Ben Mahomed," and "Caramel Hodge"—the English had some thought of treating. Ghailán at length began to realise that the friendship of the English might be worth having, and made renewed proposals of peace. Lord Peterburgh went home at the end of May for three months, to report on the state of Tangier, and negotiations continued during his absence. Captain James Wilson, an officer of the garrison, who acted as interpreter between the Moorish messengers and Colonel Fitzgerald, the Deputy-Governor of Tangier, wrote that "Gayland" was hoping to win for himself the Empire of Fez and the "Chastle of Salle, which he hath in his imagination swallowed allready, but dare not adventure to take possession of untill he hath secured himselfe by a peace with us." Having no strength of his own at sea, "only his tampering underhand with them of Tunis and Tripoli," he entertained the vain hope of obtaining English naval help against Salli.

The cessation of active hostilities improved the position of the garrison, the Moors brought in cattle and other provisions for sale, and at the same time Spanish boats began to trade frequently with Tangier, in spite of a prohibition issued—it was thought at Ghailán's request—by the Duke of Medina-Celi, Governor of Andalusia, who was consistently hostile to the English.

Captain Wilson wrote to Peterburgh in June, "our condition is daily better . . . we want not refreshment, beefe excepted." In another letter he says, "we want nothing but men."

England's foothold on the shores of the Mediterranean now seemed secure; Louis XIV., already made uneasy by the results of the marriage which he had encouraged, wrote anxiously to his ambassador in London that he feared the English wished to hold the two outlets of the Straits of Gibraltar, and perhaps even to establish a toll (péage) on all the ships that passed, "as the King of Denmark did in the Sound."[1]

[1] "Lettres," d'Estrades, i. 240, 26th February 1662.

His anxiety and annoyance were increased by the activity of Admiral Sir John Lawson and Captain Allin, who exacted treaties from Tunis and Tripoli,[1] and whose frigates took several prizes near Salli, and ran three other pirate ships ashore. Two English frigates, the *Garland* and *Francis*, were told off to guard Tangier, and another was stationed off Salli "to countenance the affairs of Ben Bowcar"; while Louis, who had magnificently declared war on all the Barbary States, saw his own fleet, under the Duke of Beaufort, put into Toulon after an ineffectual cruise, in a state of disorganisation which checked the French king's hopes of supremacy at sea, and turned his attention to the expensive project of making a canal through Languedoc, as a means of communication between the seaboards of Western and Southern France.[2]

The Occupation of Tangier being now an accomplished fact, it remained to make arrangements for the maintenance and control of the new colony. From the very beginning the undertaking was beset with difficulties which can hardly be realised without a glance at the extraordinary financial problems confronting the Restoration Government.[3]

On the accession of Charles II. the large standing force of the Commonwealth army had to be disbanded and paid off; the debts of both Charles I. and Charles II. made heavy demands upon the royal revenues, and besides these extraordinary expenses, provision had to be made for the ordinary yearly revenue and expenditure.[4]

For this last purpose Parliament granted to the King for life certain funds or sources of income, which, with the hereditary or private revenues of the Crown, were calculated to yield a fixed yearly income of £1,200,000. This sum, even if it had been paid in full, was all too little to fulfil its purpose of maintaining the dignity of the Crown and all the civil and military expenditure of the State;[5] but when it is remembered that the sources of revenue which

[1] Corbett, *op. cit.*, ii. 33, and Hist. MSS., Com. Report (Heathcote MSS., 51).
[2] Corbett, ii. 35.
[3] Cal. of Treasury Books, i., introduction.
[4] *Ibid.*, introduction, p. xx.
[5] *Ibid.*, ii., introduction, p. i.

were supposed to supply it, even when augmented by extra grants, produced on an average no more than £837,777 per annum,[1] it is impossible not to remark upon the perseverance with which Charles's Government struggled year after year to maintain the establishment for Tangier, estimated at a little over £70,000 a year—a heavy burden on an exchequer fighting against inevitable bankruptcy.

By an Order in Council dated 25th October 1661, on consideration of Lord Peterburgh's representations,

"His Matie was pleased to declare that the payment of the Garrison of Tanger should bee carefully provided and that the same should bee paid from three months to three months constantly. And to that purpose that his Exelencies Agent should attend and from time to time apply himself to the Lord Treasurer of England."

This establishment was always one of the first charges on the Treasury, together with such essential services as the Navy, the Ordnance and the Royal Household—a fact which proves its great importance in the eyes of the King; yet, with every effort, the supplies for Tangier were so inadequate and irregular as to call forth from successive governors frequent and not unfounded complaints of the neglect to which they were subjected.

The first fund drawn upon to supply the needs of Tangier was the Queen's Dowry, upon which several assignments were made in 1661-2.[2] To meet immediate expenses of ordnance and transport, certain sums of ready money were advanced by Alderman Meynell upon security of the same fund;[3] but they were insufficient to meet the demands made

[1] Cal. of Treasury Books, i., introduction, xxxv.

[2] *Ibid.* i., 310, 30th November 1661. Money warrant for £11,373, 2s. 0d. to the Earl of Peterburgh (by tallies on the moneys of the Queen's Dowry in the Earl of Sandwich's hands, on account of four Privy Seals). *Cf.* also pp. 309, 360, 440; and Cal. S.P. Dom., 1662, pp. 266, 290.

[3] Cal. of Treasury Books, i. 285. This security was afterwards transferred to the issues of the counties which were originally assigned to the Ordnance (Royal Sign Manual, 16th August, Treasury Books, i. 418) out of the eighteen months' assessment of £70,000 a month on the counties and towns (granted by Parliament for certain specified purposes, including Tangier), dating from 25th December 1661. The calculated return of this assessment was £1,260,000, the actual return £962,179. (Treasury Books, i., introduction xxx., Table B.; *Ibid.*, xxvi., note 4; *Ibid.*, xxxiv., Table F.; and *cf.* Cal. S.P. Dom., 1661, p. 186.)

upon Thomas Povey, Peterburgh's agent in England, who in January 1661-2 was appointed "Receiver, Treasurer, Paymaster and Exchanger" for the Tangier moneys.[1] In March Povey was obliged to petition the Privy Council for money in order that the Governor and his Agent might have good credit in the neighbourhood, and in May he wrote plaintively that "he was not able to judge of the state of affairs at Tangier, it being an affair of too great moment for his single conduct, he remaining in the dark and unprovided of ready money." At the same time he reported the despatch of the *Hampshire* frigate with £5,000 in silver for Tangier, and of three bills of credit to the value of £4,000 to be paid at Cadiz, one sent by post overland, and the others by the *Hampshire* and *Norwich* frigates. Provisions to the value of £1,000 were also sent, considerably behind time, by Mr Gauden, the victualler; but besides this, Povey wrote, on 4th May 1662, he had not yet touched a penny of the money for the three months' pay due in February, and the three more due the following week.[2]

The delay and deficit in the receipts of the Queen's dowry,[3] which had been promised in bullion, but was only partly paid, added to the difficulty of providing ready money for Tangier, the want of which was temporarily supplied by £14,000 borrowed from the sum obtained by the sale of Dunkirk; the French crowns in which this was paid were hastily melted down and re-coined for the purpose.[4] Such expedients as this could be only of temporary use; it was soon seen to be necessary to provide a permanent source of income, and to establish a special department of government to manage the affairs of Tangier.[5]

The two principal sources of revenue granted to the King

[1] C.O., 279. i. 83.

[2] *Ibid.*, 106 and 116.

[3] The sums paid into the Exchequer from this fund between 1660 and 1664 amounted to £127,102, 13s. 8d. (Cal. of Treasury Books, i., introduction, xxx., xxxi.) In 1668 Sir Robert Southwell, sent on a mission to Portugal, was instructed to solicit the portion of the Queen's Dowry which was still in arrear, £157,351, 3s. 8d. having then been paid into the Exchequer (Cal. of Treasury Books, ii. 573, 29th May, 1668).

[4] Cal. of Treasury Books, i. 458, 459, 493.

[5] Colonial affairs in general were managed by a standing Council or Commission, established in December 1660, consisting of forty members, some of whom were Privy Councillors and some merchants. The Earl of Shaftesbury

in 1660 were the Customs and Excise; the latter was first fixed upon to provide the required sum for Tangier.[1]

In November 1662 the King instituted a "Committee for the Affairs of Tangier," the composition of which shows that some care was taken to choose useful men for the purpose. Its first members were the Duke of York, Lord High Admiral (afterwards James II.), Prince Rupert; Monk, Duke of Albemarle, the first Commander-in-Chief of the army, who knew Tangier and had advised its acquisition; the Earl of Sandwich, who had already rendered signal services at Tangier; Lord Peterburgh, the first governor, soon to be recalled home; Southampton, the Lord Treasurer; Mr Hugh Cholmley, the engineer; Captain J. Minnes, Captain Cuttance, Sir George Carteret, Sir William Compton, Mr William Coventry, Sir William Rider, Sir Richard Ford, Samuel Pepys, Clerk of the Acts of the Navy; Mr Povey, treasurer for Tangier; and Mr Creed, secretary to the Committee.[2]

This executive body was subordinate only to the Privy Council, to which its principal members belonged.[3] It was responsible for the issue of orders regulating the details of administrative government at Tangier, for financial arrange-

was an active member of this "Council for Trade and Plantations"; it was abolished after his downfall in 1674, and its work transferred to a Committee of the Privy Council (Egerton, *op. cit.*, pp. 75, 86, 98).

[1] Cal. of Treasury Books, i. 523. 14th May 1663. The whole of the "rents and receipts payable from the several farmers of the Excise" were assigned to the payment of the Household, the Guards and the Tangier Garrison (Royal Sign Manual to the Earl of Southampton and Lord Ashley, dated 11th May 1663)—for the Household, £21,000 per an.; for the Guards, £61,000 per an.; and for Tangier, £70,000 per an. Payments to be made to them proportionately as the moneys come in, so that in all payments they may move equally. *Ibid.*, p. 549. Additional allowance of £500 per an. for Tangier, by P.S. of 28th May 1664.

Ibid., p. 682. 7th September 1665. Warrant from Treasurer Southampton to Sir Robert Long, Auditor of the Receipt, for the entire assigning of the excise revenues; Berks, Herts, Essex, Norfolk, Suffolk, Sussex, Cambridge and Ely, Hants, Northampton, Notts, Leicester, Derby, Salop, Lincoln and North Wales, to Tangier garrison.

[2] "Diary" of S. Pepys, 27th October and 1st December 1662: "After our Commission was read by Mr Creed, who I perceive is to be our Secretary, we did fall to matters of discourse, as, first, the supplying them with victuals, then the reducing it to make way for the money, which upon their reduction is to go to the building of the Molle, and so to other matters."

[3] C.O. 279, 27, 180. March 1680/1. Mem. by Mr Creed that the Lords added to the Privy Council are added to the Commission for Tangier, and the outgoing Lords of the P.C. omitted.

ments, and for the making of contracts with the victuallers, etc., but all important matters were referred by it to the King in Council; reports from the Governors of Tangier were addressed to the principal Secretary of State more often than to the Lords Commissioners. The most influential person in the affairs of Tangier until 1674 was undoubtedly Lord Arlington,[1] with whom, under the King, rested the decision of questions of policy, and whose favour was eagerly sought by all who hoped for advancement in the service of the new colony.

Year after year the difficulty of meeting the expenses of Tangier increased. One of the greatest problems of the Treasury under Southampton's administration (1660-1667) was how to provide a sufficient balance of cash for working expenses; there was no established system of anticipating the incoming revenues, and various more or less unsuccessful methods of obtaining credit upon them were adopted.[2] In certain cases, portions of taxes were hypothecated or assigned to private bankers, who lent money on the security of such taxes, which were ordered to be paid in to them instead of to the Exchequer.[3] Alderman Meynell, Alderman Backwell and Sir Robert Vyner were among the chief creditors for Tangier. The credit raised by this means proved insufficient, and the method was adopted of granting the main sources of revenue—the Customs, Excise and Hearth Money—in farm to private individuals.[4] Great difficulty was, however, experienced during the first twelve years of Charles's reign in collecting the revenues from the Excise, which was an unpopular form of taxation; the Treasurer was constantly petitioned by the private farmers

[1] Henry Bennet, Earl of Arlington (1618-1685), second son of Sir John Bennet, Member of the Cabal Ministry. He was a great favourite with Charles II. He succeeded Edward Nicholas as Secretary of State in October 1662, in opposition to the wishes of Clarendon. He was the principal person connected with foreign affairs, and served on the Committee for Tangier from March 1665. He was made a Baron during 1663, and Earl of Arlington in 1672. He subsequently fell out of favour, and resigned the Secretaryship in 1674.

[2] Cal. of Treasury Books, i., introduction, xxxvii.

[3] Cunningham, *op. cit.*, ii. 105 and 222-4. *Cf.* Cal. S.P. Dom., Aug. 17, 1662, p. 462. Certain counties assigned to Alderman Meynell in security for £17 349, 13s. 10d. advanced by him for Tangier.

[4] Treasury Books, i., introduction, xxxix.

for the allowance of defalcations;[1] from this cause came the notorious arrears in the pay of the Tangier garrison.

Regular money warrants were issued for Tangier and the treasurer was charged with the sums assigned "by imprest and on accompt," but it was often impossible for him to get credit on assignments made on taxes due some months ahead. Thomas Povey, the first treasurer, was in constant difficulties with his "unlucky accounts." "It behoves me much to try all means I can to drawe in some cashe," he wrote to Pepys on 19th May 1665. From Tangier there came bitter complaints of Povey's incompetence and neglect; the stores for which he was responsible were sometimes lost for want of efficient convoy, often late in arrival, and generally deficient in quantity if not in quality. Certain discrepancies in the accounts of Povey and of Philibert Vernatty, his agent at Tangier, gave rise to a series of mutual recriminations, each blaming the other for the confusion of their finances.

Payments for Tangier were sometimes made in specie shipped from home, but English money, sent at great expense, had the disadvantage of being acceptable only to homeward-bound English merchants, and in 1665 the Governor was requested by the Tangerine merchants to propose that the garrison should be paid in pieces of eight, as Spanish or Portuguese money was more easily current.[2] More often,

[1] Cal. of Treasury Books, i., introduction, xl.

[2] Sloane MSS., 3299, 88. 1st July 1663. Proclamation by Teviot, Governor of Tangier, to establish weights, measures, and coinage as used in London.

STANDARD COINAGE.

English 6d.	6½ pence.	Gold crown	= 70 pence.
,, 1s.	— 13 ,,	Gold angel	= 140 ,,
Half crown	— 32½ ,,	20s. piece of gold	= 280 ,,
Silver crown	65 ,,		

Spanish piece of eight current at 57 pence English, Portugal crown at 44 pence English. There being here already a quantity of small money, "known by the name of bores and doggs," 9 reis Portuguese (viz., 3 bores shall pass for one penny English. Copper and brass money to receive a seal appointed by the Governor.

C.O. 279, 18, 150. 17th February 1675 6. The Mayor and Corporation of Tangier, finding Portuguese crusadoes debased, lowered the rate to 3/, and in order to compensate possessors of crusadoes ordered a small duty on liquor and tobacco for six months.

therefore, "credits" were sent to the Governor, who drew bills either on the Commissioners for Tangier or their treasurer, or on the Lords of the Treasury, for sums advanced to him in Spanish money by merchants at Cadiz.[1] These merchants after a time became unwilling to advance money, as they found that they could not rely upon punctual payment in London, and it became necessary to keep an emergency fund at Tangier in an iron chest, of which the Governor, the Mayor and the treasurer's agent each had a key.[2]

In March 1665 Povey was replaced as treasurer by Samuel Pepys,[3] who was a far abler official than his predecessor, but who experienced equal difficulty in inducing the Lord Treasurer to let him have assignments for Tangier, and complained of "the troublesome care of the Treasury of Tangier with great sums drawn upon me and nothing to pay them with."

Pepys has left in his "Diary" many comments upon the proceedings of the Commissioners, to whose carelessness and favouritism he attributes much of the mismanagement of Tangerine business.

"God forgive how our Report of my Lord Peterburgh's accounts was read over and agreed to by the Lords without one of them understanding it," he wrote after a meeting of the Committee, "and had it been what it would it had gone: and besides, not one thing touching the Kings profit in it minded or hit upon."[4]

Succeeding governors of Tangier met with an equal compliance. When Lord Teviot's accounts were examined, Pepys observed:

[1] Sloane MSS., 3299, 91. 6/16th August 1665. Belasyse, Governor of Tangier, to Lords Commissioners, hoping their Lordships have commanded their Treasurers to pay all the Bills he or Mr Vernatty by his order had drawn upon them. He wishes to satisfy Mr Mathews at Cales (Cadiz), who furnished £2,250 of money, whose correspondents at London write that the bills are protested.

C.O. 279, 8, 117. Col. Norwood to J. Williamson, 27th July 1667: "If bad unexpected occurrencys should render H.M. incapable to send victuals in season I beseech my Lord Arl[ington] to procure us some creditts for such somes of money as may procure it in these parts."

[2] *Ibid.*, 26, 176, *et seq.*

[3] Pepys's "Diary," 20th March 1665.

[4] *Ibid.*, 19th May 1664.

SAMUEL PEPYS.

(*From a Portrait by* GODFREY KNELLER.)

[*To face p.* 34.

"there are none of the great men at the Board that is competent will except against anything in them, and so none of the little persons dare do it, so the King is abused."[1]

In 1668 he wrote:

"To a Committee for Tangier, where God knows how my Lord Bellasses' accounts passed: understood by nobody but my Lord Ashley."[2]

[1] "Diary," 30th September 1663.
[2] *Ibid.*, 15th May 1668.

CHAPTER III

THE ENEMIES OF TANGIER—1663

PETERBURGH had hardly been a year in command at Tangier when it was decided to replace him by Lord Rutherford,[1] a distinguished Scottish soldier, who had just carried out the evacuation of Dunkirk. The reason for the change was not made public;[2] in any case Peterburgh seems to have been quite willing to retire, and to accept the consolation of a pension of £1,000 a year paid out of the Tangier funds in reward for a few months' service.

Rutherford, now created Earl of Teviot, "to hearten him" for the service, was instructed to effect a reduction in the cost of the garrison, which was to number only two thousand men;[3] £50,000 a year (*minus* Peterburgh's pension) was allotted for "the entertainment of the civil and military power," the remaining £20,000 a year being intended for

[1] Andrew Rutherford, Earl of Teviot, died 1664. The only son of William Rutherford of Quarrelholes, Roxburghshire, and Isabella, daughter of Sir James Stuart of Traquair. He was educated at the University of Edinburgh, and at an early period entered the French service, where he rose to the rank of lieutenant-general. He returned to Scotland at the Restoration, being specially recommended to Charles II. by the French king, and was created Lord Rutherford 10th January 1661, and appointed Governor of Dunkirk. On the transference of Dunkirk to France he returned to England, and on 3rd February 1663 was created Earl of Teviot. In April he was given the command at Tangier.—("Dictionary of National Biography.")

[2] Pepys's "Diary," 15th December 1662. Lord Rutherford "this day made Governor of Tangier. I am sorry to see a Catholicke governor sent to command there, where all the rest of the officers almost are such already."

Ibid., 28th April 1663. It was said that Colonel Fitzgerald, the Deputy-Governor, ought to have been given the command, but "he and his men are Irish, which is indeed the main thing that hath moved the King and Council to put in Teviott to prevent the Irish having too great and the whole command there under Fitzgerald."

[3] *See* chapter on "The Garrison."

the construction of fortifications and the improvement of the harbour.

On 30th March 1663 a contract for building the Mole was signed by Teviot, Sir John Lawson and Mr Hugh Cholmley; the work was begun soon afterwards, but at first made slow progress.[1]

Economy, however desirable, was not easy to achieve. Pepys comments on the Establishment "being but £70,000 per annum, and the forces to be kept in the town at the least estimate that my Lord Rutherford can be got to bring is £53,000, besides £1,000 a year to Lord Peterburgh as a pension, and the fortifications and contingencies, which puts us to a great stand."[2] Pepys also deplores the circumstance that some members of the Committee, though they cared little for Teviot, "yet they are willing to let him for civility and compliment only have money almost without expecting any account of it, and he, being such a cunning fellow as he is, the King is like to pay dear for our courtier's ceremony."[3]

Careless extravagance on the one hand, and self-seeking on the other, counteracted all attempts at economy and reform, and, spreading throughout the administration, continually sapped the resources of Tangier.

There can be little doubt that Teviot followed the usual practice of the time in making what he could for himself out of his appointment, but he possessed to a high degree the two all-important qualities of courage and energy, and his government was the most hopeful period of the English Occupation.

He arrived at his post in the spring of 1663, and with a soldier's eyes quickly saw that the first need of Tangier was fortification. He had trustworthy reports that Ghaïlán was busy at Azîla preparing scaling-ladders and "other inventions" for the siege of Tangier, and, though Peterburgh had returned home professing to have left everything in "good order," Teviot found that hard work was necessary

[1] *See* chapter on "The Mole and Harbour."

[2] "Diary," 3rd April 1663. Some editions give these figures as £7,000 and £5,300, but the above correspond with the State Papers and Audit Office declared accounts.

[3] *Ibid.*, 10th August.

to put the walls in a state of defence. Under his energetic direction stone redoubts were rapidly raised to form an outer line of defence beyond the walls of the town; more ground was taken in and new pasture-lands were enclosed, making, so at least Teviot hoped, the first step in the extension of English territory which should help to make Tangier a self-supporting colony. This confidence was shared by those who watched the fortunes of his enterprise. Sir Richard Fanshaw, Ambassador to Lisbon, wrote home in June to report the doings of Lord Peterburgh's

"indefatigable successor, the Earl of Teviot," who "in a fortnight space hooked in a little piece of country by two new erected forts and a circular trench to the town, and," added Fanshaw, "I do verily believe that in process of time he will add as many skins to it, one without another, as there are of an onion."[1]

The work of fortification was carried on in the face of many difficulties. The efforts of Fanshaw, who tried to get workmen and materials in Portugal for the assistance of the Tangier garrison, met with long delay and little success, but Teviot would recognise no discouragement, saying that "a gallant man never wanted arms," and that if they could not get lime from Portugal, they would make it themselves. He spared neither himself nor his men, and his new redoubt, built to hold one hundred men and six cannon, was ready in June in time to receive the expected Moorish attack. "Really, I have hardly time to eate, drinke or sleepe," remarked Teviot's secretary, Nathaniel Luke; and the Commander-in-Chief himself wrote:

"It (the redoubt) giveth such jealousie and inquietude to Guyland that this three dayes bypast, by the intelligence we receive from his fugitives, we have been under Armes all night, he having 4,000 horse and 2,000 foot to attaque our little new fort, at this instant I expect his falling on us."[2]

[1] Sir R. Fanshaw to Sir Henry Bennet, 19/29th June 1663 (Heathcote MSS., Hist. MSS., Com. Rep., p. 119).

Teviot's Report of 15/25th June 1663 (C.O. 279, 2, 92; *cf.* Davis, *op. cit.*, i. 43).

On Sunday, 14th June, Ghaïlán took advantage of the hour between twelve and one, "while the men were with in to refresh themselves," to make a demonstration in force against the new fort, which was held by about forty men under Major Rudyers, who wrote a report of the engagement.[1] The Moors, advancing silently, and making use of every bit of cover, suddenly appeared in three bodies of foot of about five hundred each, armed with fire-arms and lances, and carrying colours of red and white, black, and a sort of violet. They were supported by a strong reserve of horse, and assaulted the English position "with great celerity"; Ghaïlán himself, at the head of one detachment, attacked the fort "with onset brave and briske," and "stuck his cullors between it and the towne." The men at the outposts were completely taken by surprise and retreated in disorder towards the walls, but Major Rudyers gallantly held the fort until a supporting party, quickly led out to his relief, fell upon the enemy, who were already in difficulties among the "crowsfeet and chaustraps"[2] with which the ground had been sown to receive them. The lost outposts were re-taken, and the Moors were repulsed after a sharp fight, in which Sir Tobias Bridges, Colonel Norwood and Captain Needham, as well as Major Rudyers, distinguished themselves by conspicuous gallantry. The Moors carried away fifty or sixty dead and wounded, of whom one appeared to be a great chief, "attired in crimson velvet," and left about twenty on the field, "some in fine linen." The English losses were about twenty killed and twenty wounded.[3] The following letters, written in Spanish, passed between Teviot and Ghaïlán after this engagement:[4]—

[1] The name is given in different letters, etc., as Rudyers, Rudyard, Ridyert, Redgier and Redgert. He was killed at Tangier on 4th May 1664 (*see* Dalton, "Army Lists," vol. i. pp. 33, 37). His report (copy) is in C.O. 279, 2, 96, 16th June 1663. Another account of this action is given in a letter from John Luke (C.O. 279, 2, f. 94). Details are given in "A Description of Tangier," 1664 (583 c. 8, Brit. Mus.). These authorities are quoted by Colonel Davis (i. 44-46).

[2] *I.e.*, caltrop, an instrument with four spikes, three being stuck in the ground the other pointed upwards (Davis, i. 44).

[3] The numbers of both English and Moorish casualties given in the different accounts vary slightly.

[4] C.O. 279, 2, 90-92.

The Governor of Tangier to Gayland.

"14*th June* 1663.

"The King my Lord, having appointed me to the government of this fortress, I expected the same courtesy from your Excellency that was shown to my predecessor, and that you would send me a welcome, but on the contrary, you deprived me of my dinner hour, during which it is (not) usual to receive visits. Nevertheless, notwithstanding the past, if your Excellency inclines to a better understanding, in peace or war, you shall not find me less inclined or ready, even though it be at the same hour.

"As I prize the laws of soldiers, I have buried the bodies left on the field, but if your Excellency wishes to bury them in your own fashion, you are at liberty to send for them. God keep you, etc."

Gayland to the Governor of Tangier.

"15*th June* 1663.

"I have received your Excellency's letter of the 14th instant, in which you appear to complain that I sent you no welcome, whereas on the contrary it is I who have cause of complaint, for in our land it is usual for persons of your station to notify their arrival, and not to give orders as your Excellency did in my lands. . . . As to peace, I have always favoured it, as is well known, in the past the late Governor (of Tangier) was at fault, as on inquiry you may learn.

"I expected no less of your Excellency's courtesy than your conduct with respect to the dead, for which I am deeply grateful.

"If your Excellency wishes to send ambassadors to me, you are at liberty to do so, my servant, the bearer of this, carries a safe-conduct."

The Governor of Tangier to Gayland.

"16*th June* 1663.

"I received your Excellency's letter of the 15th instant in the afternoon of the same day, by the hand of your servant, who bears this, to which I reply that if I omitted any civilities customary in these parts it was through ignorance, for which your Excellency has already sufficiently punished me. . . . As to peace and goodwill between my lord King and your Excellency, the matter having been discussed with my

predecessor, there only lacks your Excellency's consent to it, and if you are so inclined and will advise me hereof, I will send representatives who will conclude the matter."

A few weeks later a second surprise attempted by the Moors was frustrated by some "St Malo's dogs" which Teviot kept chained at the outposts, and whose barking gave timely warning of the enemy's approach. Finding themselves discovered, the Moors set fire to the grass between themselves and the town, that the smoke might blind the English gunners; but a sudden change of wind turned the disadvantage against the Moors, and Ghaïlán, drawing off his men, intimated that he was willing to come into Tangier to confer with the Commander-in-Chief. Not to be outdone in bravery, Teviot, setting aside the protests of his staff, determined to ride out to the Moorish camp, trusting himself to the honour of the enemy.

"Accordingly, a tent being pitched without the lines, and furnished with rich chairs and carpets, Gayland drew up his army about it, and the Earl, attended with twenty of his guards in rich coats, rode thither to meet him."[1]

The conference was followed by a banquet, and preliminaries were arranged for a six months' peace, finally concluded on 21st July.

As soon as active hostilities ceased, Teviot and Ghaïlán exchanged professions of mutual friendship and admiration, which were not wholly the outcome of an empty and hypocritical courtesy, but were based, in part at least, on a genuine appreciation felt by each for the soldier-like qualities of the other. There existed between these two a kind of "amicable hostility," which might in time have ripened into real understanding and regard. Both, and Teviot especially, appreciated the element of sport in their warfare, and he introduced into it a characteristic good humour which was absent from the later fights round Tangier, when the garrison was reduced to a handful of desperate men, wearied by a long struggle against overwhelming numbers.

[1] "The M or Baffled" a discourse of Tangier, by Lancelot Addison, chaplain.

A few weeks after the conclusion of the treaty, Teviot went home for three months, taking with him a letter addressed to the King by Ghaïlán, full of incredible professions of goodwill.[1]

For a short time after Teviot's departure, trade went on briskly between the garrison and the Moors, fresh provisions were plentiful, and friendly intercourse not rare. Lancelot Addison, chaplain to the Governor, records an instance of Moorish hospitality which was not altogether enjoyed by a party of Englishmen whom he accompanied on a visit to "Cidi Cassian Shat," the father of one of Ghaïlán's wives. The Moor entertained them at his house in Anjera, and offered them a feast, which they considered rather frugal, consisting of "an earthen pot full of mutton, beef, cabbage, raisins, potatoes, berengénas, etc., all boiled together, and extremely hot with dimicuto and garlic," set on a little oval table about 20 inches high. There was also "a single pullet cloven down the belly with the four quarters spread out at large, a way of cookery peculiar to the Moors, store of good bread and strong wine newly brought from the press." The chaplain continues:—

"Having supped and solaced ourselves with muddy beverage, and Moresco music, we all composed ourselves to sleep, about 20 were allotted to lodge in this small chamber, 2 whereof were Christians, 3 Jews, and the rest Moors: every one made his bed of what he wore, which made our English constitutions to wish for the morning."[2]

[1] C.O. 279, 2, 108. Gayland to the King of Great Britain, 10th September 1663. "His Excellency the Earl of Teviot having advised me of his approaching voyage to these parts, I was moved to write this present because of the peace and good friendship we have established in your Majesty's name; and because I found his Excellency so valiant and high-minded a gentleman, I could but make him a fitting response to show my good-will in all matters pertaining to your Majesty's service, which if I formerly omitted doing, was because there was no one competent to meet the case. I now hope by God's will this will continue, and very considerable benefit ensue to your Majesty's service and great rewards to his Excellency for his successful endeavours. I beseech your Majesty to despatch him hither in all speed, for the great love and good-will I bear him, and if in any of my dominions there is opportunity of serving you, let your Majesty advise me thereof, you will be conferring on me the greatest possible favour."

[2] Lancelot Addison, "Account of West Barbary." Pinkerton's "Voyages," xv. (1815).

Tangier being now momentarily free from trouble with Ghaïlán, the question recurred of the possibility of taking Salli, by the co-operation of the garrison with Admiral Lawson's frigates.

Ensconced on the north side of the Bû Ragrág river, the Salli pirates, reinforced in 1610 by numbers of Moorish exiles from Spain, had established an independent city, which, towards the middle of the seventeenth century, ranked almost as a republic; the proceeds of their piracy were divided among the successful crews of their ships, until the Emperor Mulai Ismâïl exerted his authority to demand from them, as his subjects, a tenth of the value of all prizes taken, including one captive out of every ten.[1]

The thought of capturing this pirate stronghold was one to fire the dullest imagination, and to awaken ambition in the slackest mind. Among all the "sea-wolves of the Mediterranean," in the days when every port had its privateers, the Rovers of Salli were the most daring and the most dreaded; while the Turks settled in Barbary scoured the seas on their own account, the Salli Moors pursued a course of piracy scarcely less formidable, despite their light ships, making innumerable captures of European trading vessels, and acquiring a reputation far above their real strength.

Alien though sea-faring matters usually are to the Moorish character, the men of Salli proved apt pupils in the art of handling sailing vessels, which they learned either by the forced instructions of their captives, or the more willing teaching of many a "cursed runnagado, or Christian-turned-Turk," outcasts from European ports, who drifted to the shores of Barbary as their trade of piracy slowly diminished in their own waters, and whose skill, acquired in some cases on the coast of our own west country, was used to make "those Sally men or Moores of Barbary so powerfull as they be, to the terror of all the Straights."[2] Yet the chief skill of

[1] An account of the "Salli Rovers" is given by Budgett Meakin in his "Moorish Empire," chap. xiii. *See* also "The Land of the Moors," chap. viii. (Budgett Meakin), and also "L'Histoire de Barbarie et de ses Corsaires," R. P. F. Pierre Dan.

[2] Budgett Meakin, "Moorish Empire," pp. 255-256 (quoted from "The True Travels and Adventures and Observations of Captain John Smith," London 1630, p. 914). *Cf.* also Dan., *op. cit.*, p. 273.

the pirates lay in choosing the right moment to waylay a gunless ketch or pink, when they could find one unprotected by the convoy of a man-of-war; though they ventured to the very shores of Devon in pursuit of their prey, and would chase a trading ship for hours until they outsailed and took her, yet the captains of the King's frigates found that the dreaded Salli Rover had "learnt to run from a shotted gun," and to harry only the venturous trader who risked an unarmed voyage, or who, through stress of weather, had parted from his convoy.

"No Sallee-man will face a ship of ten guns," wrote one sea-faring captain, Thomas Phelps, who had experience of their tactics, and who, on one occasion, ran down the coast of Portugal in a vessel of forty tons, ill-named the *Success*, laden with Irish beef, and with "not one great gun," followed by a privateer dogging his every turn for a night and a day. Having "tried his sailing all ways" and "found he could not wrong him any way," the English captain, with his crew, was at length inveigled on board the Salli-man, whose captain, to the last moment, pretended to come from Algiers, with which port England was then at peace. He only threw off the mask when the Englishmen were in his hands, and having landed them on to the Moorish coast, sent them in chains to be sold at Mequinez.[1]

Another instance of the methods of the Salli rovers was related by an English priest, Adam Elliot, who, in June 1670, sailed from Lisbon in a little ketch called the *John o' London*, which was bound for England with a cargo of oranges and lemons. After three day's sailing she fell in with a squadron commanded by Sir John Spragge, who reported that he had seen no pirates for the past month; but a little later, off Cape Finisterre, the *John o' London* was hailed and overtaken by a ship sailing under French colours. No sooner had she come within gun-shot, than the Salli flag was run up in place of the French one, and two hundred Moors appeared on the decks and summoned the English crew to put out their boat and go on board.

[1] "Captivity of Thomas Phelps" (Harleian "Collection of Voyages," II. 500 *et seq.* (1745)).

Resistance would have been useless. The master of the ketch obeyed, and as soon as they reached the Salli-man's deck, he and Elliot were stripped and tied up to the mast to be whipped until they should confess if any money were hidden in the ketch. Having satisfied their captors as best they could, all the prisoners were put in irons and crowded below deck, and there were kept for forty days in a state of unspeakable filth, half-suffocated by the foulness of the air, and nearly starved on a meagre allowance of biscuit and dried olives, their every complaint being met with jeers and blows from the pirates. Only now and then were they allowed on deck for a few minutes' fresh air, once on a windless day they were put "to tug at the oar" till ten o'clock at night. Scarcely a day passed without the pirates either giving chase to other ships, or being pursued by them, for the Salli-man was a good sailor and made for everything she saw, confident in being able to make her escape should the possible prize prove too formidable to attack. A French ship, with a crew of twenty-three, having fallen into their hands, the Moors made back for Salli, but there, cruising before the river's mouth, they sighted an English frigate, which instantly gave chase. The Salli-man spread all sail for flight down the coast. The prisoners, chained and guarded below deck, hoped and prayed for rescue; but the frigate made first for the French prize, and while she was engaged in her capture, the Salli-man, taking advantage of the gathering darkness to make her escape, sailed up and hid in a creek some miles away, out of sight of the English ship. Here the Moors lay all night, and in the morning put their prisoners ashore and sent them overland to Salli, where they were paraded in the market-place and sold to the highest bidders, who then tried to induce them, by means of the bastinado, to admit that they could furnish a large ransom, failing which nothing lay before them but slavery. The *John o' London* was presently sent on to Salli in charge of a few Moors, and the pirate ship continued her cruise.[1]

[1] "A Narrative of my Travails, Captivity and Escape from Salli," etc., Adam Elliot, M.A. These instances are related here merely because they are recorded in greater detail than hundreds of others which took place throughout

Such incidents as these, incessantly repeated, were the bane of English shipping; to a government which reserved most of its small store of energy and honesty for the protection and encouragement of trade, to a king who "best understood the business of the sea of any Prince the world ever had," who in his boyhood had learnt to sail his own boat round the dangerous coasts of the Channel Islands, and to the end of his reign kept his knowledge of naval affairs as one of the best interests of his life, it seemed that the conquest of Salli would be an invaluable help in winning command of the sea, as well as a strong bulwark to the position of the English in Morocco, and a complete justification of the expensive occupation of Tangier.

A slender chance of success was afforded by the precarious position of Salli, which was at the time the object of contention between Ghaïlán and his adversary Ben Boukir "the Saint," who in turn collected large armies to besiege it in their intervals of fighting each other. Neither of them, however, commanded any force at sea, and during the summer of 1662 Admiral Lawson kept a frigate or two constantly cruising before the river's mouth, with a latent hope that opportunity, boldly seized, might enable him, by a swift move, to gain possession of the Castle.[1] Failing this Lawson had orders to "countenance the affairs of Benbucar,"[2] the less dangerous enemy, who might, it was thought, be induced to cede the port to England by treaty. The pirates, however, still held their own against all-comers, and the moment of crisis came and went while Lawson was engaged elsewhere.

In March 1663 news was received by the Tangier garrison that a hundred thousand men of the "Saint's" army were besieging Salli, while Ghaïlán was tied to his new possessions of Tetuan and Azîla, which could be kept in subjection only by a display of force. A few days later they heard that "Ben Bowcar was gott by storme into

the century, and of which they are typical examples, though they both actually happened a few years after the idea of an English conquest of Salli had been abandoned.

[1] Carte MSS., ccxxii. p. 2. 26th August 1662.

[2] Heathcote MSS., Report, p. 32. 19/29th August 1662.

Sally, and by the inhabitants much repulsed, that he was fayne to fly," and that "Gayland's" army was again threatening the Castle. A naval captain, writing at the time observed: "If wee had but had a fregatt upon the coast to hinder provisions to come to Sally, they must have surrendered to Ben Bucar, but his Ex^cy had never a one to spare."[1]

In June the "Saint" was encouraged by the loan of a ship from Teviot for the conveyance of provisions for his army; but Ghaïlán's star was now in the ascendant, he had secret friends in the besieged town, and his success seemed within measurable distance. The Tangier Commissioners grew very anxious lest he should join his strength to that of Salli. "If this nest of Pyrates should fall into Gayland's hands, it would be capable of infesting us worse than Argier (Algiers) itselfe," wrote the Commissioners in October 1663, adding that it would make Gayland too strong to need peace with the English, and might prove a more successful trading port than Tangier itself. They added to their resolutions concerning Salli the following brief note: "Let Teviot take it if he finds it convenient."

The Commissioners did no more than pass resolutions. Teviot had his hands full already, and the Mediterranean squadron was again occupied with the pirates of Algiers, who grew tired of keeping the treaty they had made with Admiral Lawson in 1662, and hung about the Straits to plunder English vessels on their way to and from Tangier. The enterprise began and ended in talk, for neither Service was given the means to carry it through.

The instructions given to Teviot were as follows:

"In case Benbucar shall offer to surrender to you the Castle of Salley and that your condicion there permits the acceptance of it, you shall take possession upon reasonable terms and condicions, and garrison it with such a number of souldiers as shall be requisite for its defence, and in the worst case, at least, doe your utmost endeavour that it doe not fall into the hands of Gaylan."[2]

[1] Capt. C. Harbord to Sir C. Harbord (extract), 6/16th March 1662/3 (C.O. 279, 2, 14).

[2] *Ibid.* 169. 2nd December 1663.

It speaks well for the hopefulness of Teviot's disposition that he could think it even remotely possible to take and keep a second Moroccan city with the small force—a bare two thousand—at his command. It can hardly be doubted that the idea was supported by him, promoted as it was while he was attending meetings of the Tangier Committee at Whitehall, and exerting an influence over its members which Pepys considered excessive. The suggestion was indeed made by Sir Richard Fanshaw that all the English auxiliaries in Portugal should be sent to Africa under Teviot's command, but the plan was too costly to win support from the impecunious Government of Charles II.[1]

The hope that peace would leave the Tangier garrison free for new enterprises soon vanished; after a few months all thoughts of the conquest of Salli were set aside, for it was found that all available strength was needed to prepare against a combined attack planned by the Spaniards and Moors. The professed friendship of Ghaïlán went no further than courteous words, which he used to screen unceasing intrigues against the English, whom, with the exception perhaps of Teviot, he hated with all his heart. Scarcely less bitter was the hostility of the Spaniards, who from the very beginning hindered the prosperity of the English settlement, with a jealousy which was only part of the great struggle for colonial supremacy unsuccessfully maintained by Spain against her younger rival.

For months the two Crowns were almost on the verge of a declaration of war, restrained only by the poverty of both their treasuries. Spain had a grievance ready to hand in the English auxiliaries in Portugal, "those incomparable troops," who were doing splendid work for the Portuguese in spite of "the unsupportable wants and injuries which they groaned under." The King of Portugal, unable to pay the foreign troops or to fight his way to independence without them, proposed that England should declare war on

[1] Fanshaw to Charles II., 31st January/10th February 1663 (Heathcote MSS., Report, p. 59).

Spain,[1] but the Chancellor, Clarendon, wrote to Sir Richard Fanshaw:

"Alas my Lord we have no money to send fleets or troops upon adventures, nor can anybody imagine that the burden of a war of Portugal can be sustained upon the weak shoulders of the Crown of England."[2]

A nominal peace continued, but the actions of Spain were watched with suspicion from Tangier throughout the years 1662 and 1663. "Our whole divertment hath bin the constant alarums of the Spaniards to ataque Tangier," wrote Nathanial Luke to Lord Teviot, and it was reported "that Spain was leagued with Guylan and had an armada at Cadiz to block up Tangier, if Sir John Lawson had not come opportunely to prevent it."

Warnings of the plot were sent to England and Tangier by Martin Westcombe, the watchful English Consul at Cadiz, who, in October 1663, sent a despatch to Sir Henry Bennet, (Lord Arlington), Secretary of State, enclosing a letter, "the contence of it Amounteinge to the discovery of a combination which the Spaniards and Guelund the Moors Gen[l] have complotted agaynst his Maj[ties] Cittye of Tangier to bee in December next."[3]

The existence of the plot was denied by the Spanish Ambassador in London, but, remarked Lord Arlington, "in that point as they have liberty to say what they please, so have we to believe."[4] Sufficient proofs were obtained at Cadiz by "The Intelligencer," Martin Beckman, the afterwards well-known Swedish engineer, who acted as a spy on behalf of the English Government, and, while offering to assist the King of Spain to obtain possession of Tangier, and taking payment from the Duke of Medina Celi, procured copies

[1] Fanshaw to Clarendon, 21/31st October 1662 (Heathcote MSS., Report, p. 37).

[2] Earl of Clarendon to Sir R. Fanshaw, 12th April 1663 (Heathcote MSS., Report, pp. 75-6).

[3] Westcombe to Bennet, 27th October 1663 (C.O. 279, 3, 134-136).

[4] Arlington to Fanshaw, 17th March 1664 ("Letters of the Earl of Arlington," ii. 15 (1701)).

of various compromising letters from the King to the Duke, which he passed on to Mr Westcombe.[1]

Copies of these letters were given to Sir Richard Fanshaw, who in January 1664 was sent on a special embassy to Spain, in order to negotiate a peace between that country and Portugal, with instructions not to take any "professed notice" of "the Spanish designs with Gayland and the Moors for the surprisal of Tangier," but to intimate unofficially that the plot was no secret in England.[2]

In the meantime Colonel Fitzgerald, the Deputy-Governor, was in some anxiety about the defences of Tangier. He wrote home that the chief hope of security lay in

"the difficultys that may arise between the Spaniard and the Moor, in the management of this attempt, of which could they once agree it is probable the rest would not stay to be effected, for 'tis certaine wee neither are nor sudenly can be secure against a Christian enemy. . . . I wish wee could make ourselves secure of the Castle," he added, and "in case there be noe further supplys, I humbly conceive 'tis better to deduct it outh of the found of the mould (fund of the mole) than by continued neglect to indanger the whole."[3]

Fitzgerald's vigilance was kept awake by renewed warnings from Cadiz, sent by Westcombe at great risk of having the letters intercepted at sea. On 27th October 1663 Westcombe wrote anxiously:

"For God's sake looke ab^{t} you in time to prevent the storme that is Accomeinge against Tangier, the Truth is the

[1] Fitzgerald to Bennet, enclosing copies of letters from the King of Spain to the Duke of Medina Celi, 14/24th December 1663 (C.O. 279, 2, 162); "Original Letters of Sir Richard Fanshaw" (published 1722), pp. 41-44; Fanshaw's Letters, 1663-4 (Heathcote MSS., Report, p. 130); King of Spain to Duke of Medina Celi, 22nd September/2nd October 1663. Beckman had already served at Tangier and afterwards returned there, and did much to improve the fortifications. He became a naturalised Englishman in 1691 (House of Lords MSS., Report, p. 285, 7th November 1691. Act for naturalising Sir Martin Beckman and others).

[2] S.P. Foreign (P.R.O.), Spain, 45, 8. "Letters of the Earl of Arlington," ii. 1-12. Instructions to Fanshaw, Ambassador to Spain, 14th January 1663-4 ("Original Letters of Sir R. Fanshaw," p. 20).

[3] Fitzgerald to Bennet, 24th October 1663 (C.O. 279, 2, 122).

Spaniard is now in his glorry for ships men and money . . . (intending) with great forces to attacque it boath by sea and land. . . . I conceave that the peace that is made wth Gueland is not in good policy to bee performed yff that Toune bee in Anye Dang^r^ by it, by not beinge able by those Articles ass I am informed to fortifye your selves beyond a limited place, you best know Whate is to bee done in this casse, and I feare mee I have suffichentlye tyred you wth Impertinences which I hoape you Will pardon As proceedinge from noe other fountayne than that which is called a true Loyaltie to my king."[1]

On all sides spies were busy collecting information—whether true or false it was hard to tell—which they doled out to Fitzgerald at a price. Ceuta, the principal Spanish garrison in Morocco, where troops had lately been concentrated,[2] formed a convenient base for intrigues, and thence were sent envoys to Ghaïlán, who received them in state, first at Tetuan and then at Azíla. The journey of these envoys —Don Diego Philipe of Palma, and "a gent whose quality is unknowne"—was reported to the Governor of Tangier by a Moor named Hamet el Hader, who with calm effrontery volunteered to endeavour to persuade Ghaïlán to remain at peace with the English, if Fitzgerald would give him a "quantity of money in gold, silver, and pearls."[3]

Fitzgerald was kept informed of some of the proceedings of the Spaniards by a Jew of Tetuan. He wrote home to Teviot in November:

"Gayland hath received the king of Spaine's present . . . it was brought through his land in great pomp and state and the rumor was the present was wourth more then forety thousand pieces of eight. . . . Wee are certainly informed the Spanish commissioners still are and have continued a good time in treaty with Gayland and the princepal of the Moores at Arzila."[4]

[1] Westcombe to Fitzgerald, 27th October 1663 (C.O. 279, 2, 130, 139 (copy)).

[2] Fitzgerald to Earl of Sandwich, asking for naval support, as two thousand Spanish soldiers have gone to Ceuta, 21st May 1662 (Carte MSS., 75, f. 38).

[3] Hamet el Hader to the Governor of Tangier, 3rd December 1663 (C.O. 279, 2, 163).

[4] Fitzgerald for Teviot, sent in cypher to Sir H. Bennet, 25th November 1663 (C.O. 279, 2, 152).

A little more information was gleaned from an "Englis fryer" of doubtful reputation, who arrived at Tangier under the name of "Captain Crafts," "pretending to be a trew English man and a friend to this place,"

"whome wee did expect because of some intelligence wee had which bad us beware of him," wrote Fitzgerald; "he is the same was employed to the West Indies in search of Prince Morice and very conversant in England with Batanile the Spanis Embasador. I give the frier al fitting libertie and yett have watchfull eye on him, Endevoring to intercept some of his letter."[1]

The friar reported that a Spanish fleet was in readiness, though he knew not for what purpose, and told Major Knightley, "who made it his business to sift this fryer," that the Spaniards would stick at nothing to get possession of Tangier, and that he need not think that the necessity for making a Mohammedan alliance would deter the subjects of the most Catholic King from attacking the town, for "they would joyne with the devile to have it."

The "devile," however, represented by Ghaïlán, had no intention of again allowing Tangier to slip from the hands of one Christian enemy into those of another. The chief object of the Moor's endeavour was to get money and guns from the Spaniards and to take Tangier for himself; he kept the Spanish agents parleying week after week at Azíla with little definite result. Nathaniel Luke was probably not far from the truth when he observed: "Guylan hath allready, as is concluded by most, finished the greatest part of his designe having received a greate Present."

Without the co-operation of the Moors, the Spaniards could not risk a direct blow at Tangier.[2] Negotiations

[1] Fitzgerald for Teviot, sent in cypher to Sir H. Bennet, 25th November, 1663 (C.O. 279, 2, 152).

[2] C.O. 279, 2, 167. An unsigned letter (apparently intercepted by the English), dated 18/28th December 1663, and addressed to M. van der Bergen at Cadiz, and translated from the Dutch, tells of the Spanish plot against Tangier. The writer fears the design will not succeed, and adds: "I shall not get half so much from the English as I should have from the Spaniards, but it is an impossible enterprise."

continued in a desultory fashion. Ghailán was encouraged by occasional gifts from Spain, and Spanish privateers committed depredations on the Tangerine boats, but the garrison was never called upon to bear the strain of the long-talked-of combined attack of Spaniards and Moors by sea and land.

CHAPTER IV

THE EARL OF TEVIOT—1664

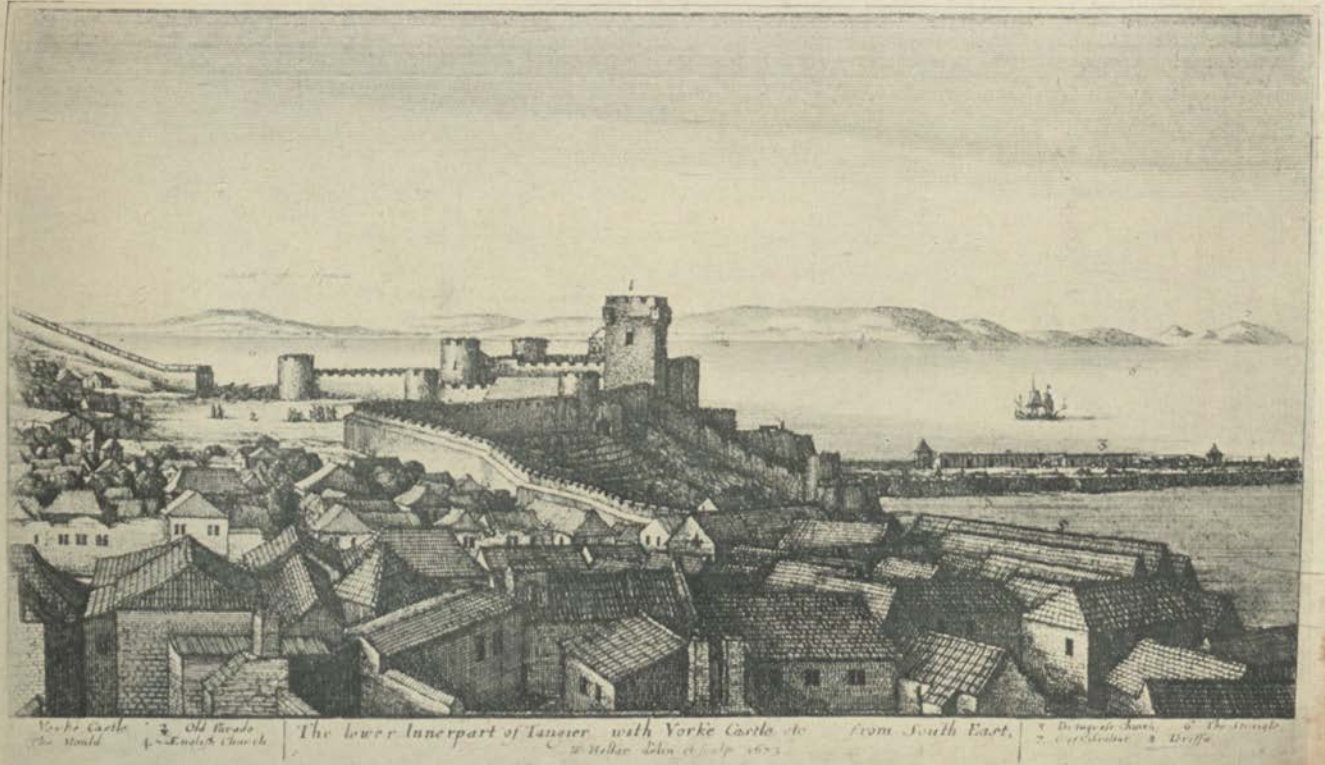
IN December 1663, Teviot, having made a rapid journey to Scotland to enlist recruits for his regiment, was ready to sail for Morocco with reinforcements of men and ammunition; some of his ships were, however, delayed for a few days by having to wait for their victuals for the voyage. Teviot wrote with apparent unconcern from the *Kent*, on 25th December, "I forgot at parting and whilst I was at Portsmouth lykwayes to provyd for the schipps your sogers goe in," but remedied his carelessness by himself advancing money for the necessary provisions.

He arrived at Tangier in the middle of January 1664, and found awaiting him, besides the all-important work of defence, various pressing questions of policy which were beginning to make themselves felt.

The town was no longer merely a military outpost; from Morocco, from Spain and France and Holland, Jewish and European merchants were beginning to gather at the new settlement; trade was increasing daily, and a small and turbulent civil population added to the difficulties of the Governor, who sought instructions direct from the King in Council.

Among other questions, he asked "if frenches or other straingers offering to come inhabitat and build at Tangers shall be admitted?" and also desired "to knowe whither (in case of warre with the Moors) the Jews shall be continued in Tangers, being of little advantage to the Garrison and verry apt to give intelligence to the Enemy."[1]

[1] C.O. 270, 3, 178. An undated memorandum, headed "Teviot's Me." and endorsed "E. of Teviot's Memoriale concerning Tanger" and counter



Coast of Spaine.

1. Yorke Castle.
2. Old Parade.
3. The Mould.
4. English Church.

THE TOWN, WITH YORK CASTLE, FROM THE SOUTH-EAST.

BY WENCESLAUS HOLLAR.

5. Portuguese Church.
6. The Straights.
7. C. of Gibraltar.
8. Teriffa (Tarifa).

[*To face p.* 54.

These were complex problems, for in them the causes of prosperity and security seemed to be warring against each other; if Tangier was to be made a busy trading station, according to the King's desire, it was essential to encourage merchants to settle in the town; the Jews, who held most of the trade of Barbary in their hands, would be a necessary element of its wealth; the Portuguese, who already had interests in the place, must be encouraged by civil and religious privileges; on the other hand, every unknown foreigner who came in might prove eventually to be a spy, ready to note the weak points in the defence of the town, and to sell information to the highest bidder, whether Moorish, Spanish, French, or Dutch.

The Council felt it safer to leave the solution of these problems to Teviot's own discretion, merely exhorting him in their instructions to take such measures as in his judgment should be

"usefull for encouraging Trade and the resort of Merchants thither with their Stocks, not suffering any unreasonable number of French Dutch or other nacions to be there, as may by their correspondence endanger the security of the Place, especially Jewes, whose Traffique with the Moores is most to be suspected."

The instructions continue:

"As for the Portugueses, there being no cause given by them to make you jealous of their fidelity to the Government, you are to give them a more avowed encouragement, preserveing those that are there of any Religious order in all the Priviledges and Immunityes promised them, but not suffering new ones to be admitted into the Place of those that Dye; not making any scruple of ejecting those who are yet living, if you find them tampering or guilty of any dangerous correspondence, nor allowing them or the Roman Catholicks . . . any of the Churches more than what shall be requisite to the proporcion of their number." [1]

signed by "Fitzgarrard" (Fitzgerald, Deputy-Governor). It was probably drawn up in December 1663. Answers are given in brief marginal notes, which are expanded in Teviot's Instructions of 21st December 1663. (*Cf.* Davis, *op. cit.*, i. 39 and 53.)

[1] Instructions for the Earl of Teviot, signed by the King, 2nd December 1663 (C.O. 279, 2, 169 (and copy, *ibid.*, 156); *cf.* Davis, *op. cit.*, 1, 53).

The Portuguese Dominicans, here alluded to, who had remained in their convent at Tangier when their compatriots left the place, were the leaders of a discontented faction in the town, and gave a good deal of trouble to successive Governors. Their chief grievance lay in the desecration of several of the churches and chapels which had been maintained by the Portuguese, and which were used for quarters or storehouses by the English. A petition for the restitution of these churches found a sympathetic listener in Queen Catharine, and the previous order notwithstanding, the cause of "Sebastian Gonzales and other canons of Tangier" was, a few weeks later, specially commended to Teviot by the King's command, "for the gratification of our dearest Consort, the Queen, who hath interceded for them."[1]

The Governor was also called upon to adjust the claims for compensation made by the former Portuguese owners of houses at Tangier, which were now the property of the King, and to superintend the disposal of all houses not required for military quarters, to merchants or other residents, "either by reserveing good rents upon them, or otherwise takeing Fines and applying them to the repaire of the said Houses, the surplusage of which you are to accomp for."[2]

The Portuguese were, however, by no means satisfied, and the question of compensation remained in dispute for many years,[3] being finally settled in 1684.

With the increase of a lawless but litigious population, there arose the necessity for establishing a court of justice other than a court-martial; this, too, was the business of the Governor, and Teviot wrote that he wished

"to knowe whither it will be expedient or not for the Governor of Tangers to have full power of finall determination of sentences without appell. To know if any Court in England may at any time have power to command any

[1] Henry Bennet (Arlington) to Teviot, by the King's order, 19th January 1663-4 (C.O. 279, 3, 14).

[2] Teviot's instructions (C O. 279, 2, 169).

[3] Letter concerning the mission of Sir Robert Southwell to Portugal (Cal. of Treasury Books, iii. 573, 29th May 1668).

person for any Cryme (Treason excepted, from the Governor's protection, or impower any uthers for execution of any sentence at Tangers without the Governor's consent first. To knowe if those appointed by the Governor for the Execution of Justice . . . shall not have full power given them soe to doe."[1]

The answer to these queries was as follows:—

"In the Administration of Justice in all Criminall and Civill Matters you shall declare Our Intencion is, that our Judicatories proceed to finall determinacions of all Causes without a Latitude of Appeale, but to Our Selfe by your permission, and no person be commanded from thence by any Forme of Justice, in any case except that of Treason, allowing all sentences to be good and valid, and accordingly to be executed, whether by distress of goods, corporall punishment, or death."[2]

The consideration of these questions was necessary for the good government of Tangier; but Teviot was before all things a soldier, and he turned with relief from the worrying details of civil administration to throw himself with all the enthusiasm of his character and the thoroughness of his race into preparations for coming war.

During the last few weeks of Teviot's absence the position of the Deputy-Governor had become very difficult; the truce was to end on 21st January, and Ghaïlán was ready for immediate war. Fitzgerald was well aware that the Moors were receiving help from Spain; without reinforcements he could hardly hope to resist a serious attack, and he had no certain knowledge of the date of Teviot's return. His anxiety was quickened by an ostensibly friendly visit from Ghaïlán, who came to Tangier with "about fifty of his most considerable persons." Colonel Fitzgerald "roade a hawking with him for the space of an houre," and although, in the usual fashion of Moorish diplomacy, "the discourse which passed betwixt them was of noe moment," Fitzgerald had no difficulty in guessing that the visit was merely

[1] Teviot's Memorandum.
[2] Instructions for the Earl of Teviot.

an excuse to reconnoitre, and that Ghailán's real object was to

"settle all his people as neere Tanger as may be that soe their interest lying about this place, they may be obliged to be at his devotion, in case the Spaniards can propose those advantageous terms which may prevaile with him to brake peace with us. I am the rather confirmed in this opinion," added Fitzgerald, "because soe greate numbers of people are come doune on a sodaine, and follow their plowing soe earnestly in some parts neere us, where no plowes have been seene these many yeeres."[1]

On 12th January, when Teviot was nearing the end of his voyage to Tangier, he was met by the frigate *Hector*, with despatches to the effect that Fitzgerald had thought it necessary to take upon himself to prolong the truce with Ghaïlán until 1st April, at the cost of a promise to give the Moors fifty barrels of powder, and to build no new fortifications during the truce.

On Teviot's arrival the whole outlook at Tangier seemed at once changed; half-hearted attempts at defence were replaced by organised activity, anxiety gave way to confidence. No more was heard of attempted desertion to the Moors, for which five men had been hanged a short time before: the whole garrison was inspired with a new spirit; and now, for the only time in two-and-twenty years, did the King's dreams of Moroccan empire assume the colour of coming reality.

It was not only the recruits and stores that Teviot brought with him, with promises of more to follow, that so greatly cheered the spirits of the garrison, nor a royal message of praise and encouragement which assured the troops that they were not forgotten by their King.[2] No reinforcements or supplies, no royal message however welcome, could altogether account for the new life which awakened in the garrison in the spring of 1664. It was Teviot himself who was the mainspring of the change; his hopeful courage

[1] Fitzgerald to Bennet, 9/19th December 1663 (C.O. 270, 2, 160).

[2] Instructions to Teviot (C.O. 279, 2, 169): "Immediately on your arrivall there you shall let all the officers and souldiers of the Garrison know how well satisfied Wee are with their behaviour in the late actions, when they were assaulted by the Moors, and incouraging them doeing their duty upon the

became the life and soul of the defence, his unending energy spread through all ranks, and his enthusiasm welded the quarrelsome factions of Tangier into a united company, with devotion to their leader as their common motive. He was the most popular of all the Governors of Tangier, and the man who most nearly wrought the success of the Occupation, though critics at home found in him many faults. He was shrewd, ambitious, acquisitive, wasteful with public money, sparing of his own;

"a most carefull, thoughtfull and cunning man," says Pepys, "as I also ever took him to be. He is this day bringing in an account where he makes the King debtor to him £10,000 already on the garrison of Tangier account but yet demands not ready money to pay it, but offers such ways of paying it out of the sale of old decayed provisions as will enrich him finely."[1]

He loved display and luxury, yet could endure any hardship. Each time he went to Tangier he took with him plate for his personal use to the value of £1,300, transported at the public expense;[2] yet, when need arose, he would spend day and night in the trenches, willing to "work, eat and lodge in the field," and was said by the Moors never to sleep, but leaning against a gun or some part of the outworks. He remembered to send a ketch to Marseilles to fetch a cargo of wine for his own table, though he forgot that his men would need provisions for their voyage. According to Pepys, his extravagance would soon have forced the King to abandon Tangier, but it was afterwards admitted that "he took all ways to make it great, yet without neglecting himself." There can be no doubt that, for the time at least, Teviot was the right man for his post. He was a man of prompt actions and few words; he knew how to deal with the Moors; he was a born leader of men; a fighter

assurance that nothing shall be wanti ig on our part to gratifie and reward them for soe doeing, and upon all occasions you shall continue as you have hitherto done, to particularise in your letters the merits of every officer and souldier, that wee may remember to reward them accordingly when there is occasion for it."

[1] "Diary," 10th December 1663.

[2] Cal. of Treasury Books (14th April 1663 and 16th December 1663, i. 515, 563).

who inspired his own troops with confidence and his enemies with fear; his men believed in him, worked for him, fought for him, died for him; his bluff humour and cheery optimism, no less than his ready courage and strong determination, endeared him to his regiment. Under his command the garrison won a reputation for bravery which made them famous in their own country, and proved a stronger rampart against the later attacks of the Moors than all the fortifications built round Tangier.

Teviot's letters,[1] written in a vigorous and unclerkly hand, with thick, bold strokes, full of character and not very legible, indicate that he was more practised in using a sword than a pen; but they give a more vivid account than many formal reports of the energy with which he carried out the King's instructions.

He came back to Africa furnished with "all the papers brought by Captaine Bœckman relateing to the Spaniards designe for the surprize of Tangier in a conspiracy with Gaylan," and his relations with the latter were to be governed as follows:—

"When the Terme of the Truce between you and Guylan shall come to expire, it is left to you to conclude an entire Peace with him, or to continue the Truce for such a time as you shall judge fitt and with such condicions; remembring onely that you doe not admit of any restraint upon Fortifieing the Place and the ground about it, with such an extent as shall be absolutely necessary for the security and convenience of it."[2]

These instructions were directly incompatible with the terms of Fitzgerald's truce, and Teviot accordingly set diplomacy to work to obtain a modification of the treaty. After considerable negotiations with Ghailán, he reported:

"At last (I) have agreed that I may without breach of the 2 months truce fortifye the nearest places to the towne but could not fortifye nor retranch the outlynes for fyfteen

[1] C.O. 279, 2 and 3.
[2] *Ibid.*, 2, 109; Davis, *op. cit.*, i. 53.

dayes, which tyme he taketh (sayeth he) to convene his nobles and consult the matter. But the veritie is that he may be the more ready to attaque or surpryse us. A bon chat, bon rat, we are not Jelle. The Jewe that cometh from thence affirmeth that we sall have warre with him, but within two months after, peace. Now as the peace hitherto hath not produced to us great advantages, so I assure your ho(nour) that the warre shall not hinder the fortifying of the town, nor the working and advancing of the Mole."[1]

At the end of the given fortnight, Ghaïlán sent two of his chief officers and his secretary to Teviot, to say coolly that the Mohammedan law would not permit him to allow Christians to build fortifications in Africa. He offered to give quarter as in the Portuguese time, and to rate the prisoners at a price; but Teviot sent back prompt answer that he would have either peace on his own conditions, or war without quarter.[2]

Such messages could have but one termination, and the Governor prepared for the coming siege by turning the suspect Jews out of the town, and beginning a new fort before Peterburgh Tower, which, he wrote, "will give us the enjoyment of a great deal of ground." On 16/26th February Teviot reported that fighting had began on the 11th, and

"Gayland hath atacqued mee by Embuscados and surprises but not by open force, if he doe not assault me tomorrow with his whole army, we shall be a day after in a condition to defend our lynes against all his forces without danger. We have made infinit of retranchments, and built a little fort on the most considerable pass about the towne, soe that we dare hope good successe to the place."

[1] Teviot's Report of 9th February 1663/4. (C.O. 279, 3, 20, 21).

[2] Ghaïlán afterwards accused Teviot of breaking the terms of Fitzgerald's truce, but Sir Hugh Cholmley ("Account of Tangier," 1666) says that Teviot offered to keep the truce for the given two months, but warned Ghaïlán that he must, according to orders, begin to fortify the lines on its expiration. He therefore suggested that they should begin war at once, without waste of time, unless Ghaïlán would assent to the continuance of the fortifications. This Ghailan refused, the subsidies due to him by the treaty were paid, and war began by mutual consent.

In another letter he writes :—

"It is wonderful the progress we have made in fortifying our retranchments be the indefatigable pains and labour of our sogers and extraordinary diligence of our officers, all stryving to surpass one another for his Maties service . . . if his Ex. Guyland whom we have expected these fyv dayes doe not attacque us with all his forces tomorrow or Monday I dare answer to his Majestie to put a paire of spectacles on Guyland's nose that will trouble him so as to oblige him at last to a peace and make this place very comfortable to the Garrison and inhabitants. Nay, which is more, that for attacquein I dare almost promise good success, for I never saw officers and sogers more eager and ready to fight. I know not if it be a motive of Christianitie against infidels that causeth it . . . we have good lynes before us to defend us. I hope my next sall efford better news, whereof I sall give your ho(nour) the detail."

A long letter written on 14th March by Lancelot Addison, Chaplain to H.M.'s. Forces at Tangier, to Joseph Williamson, gives a good account of the siege and defence, and of a gallant sortie by the Tangier Horse, "the maiden battle of their since distinguished corps" (1st Dragoons)—so boldly planned and so brilliantly achieved by Captain Witham, that the Moors were completely taken by surprise.

Addison writes as follows :—

"His Ex^ce the Earle of Teviot arrived safe here January 14th and upon the expiring of the late peace with Gayland began his new fortifications, which succeeded very well, for in a few days a line two miles in circuit (besides all inner lines) was made so strong that the Moors could not enter it, and where our men lye almost as safe as within the city walls. The advantage hereof we have experience in two late disputes with the Moores for on Feb. 28 (?) the last, betwixt eleven and twelve, the enemies' whole army as we suppose appeared upon the Hills close by us : they took up their posts, the greatest numbers came upon the west part toward the sea, and at several other parts all (moved ?) near the line where for some hours they continued pelting, but at last were forct off with losse, though we not so much as a man toucht. The very next day about the same hour they came on againe with greater numbers and courage and tooke up their posts as before . . . . they plaid very hotly

upon our men, yet without any more harm than the losse of a single man. . . . At last His Exᶜᵉ ordered a party of horse, commanded by Capt. Witham who behaved himselfe herein very gallantly, to fetch off a red standard which they had pitcht very near us . . . the horse brought off the standard, killed several of the enemy, put the rest that were there to flight and all without the least damage. Immediately the standard was placed upon that part of the ffort that was built in sight of Gayland and his whole Army, who upon the sudden drew off in discontent, and we heare that they look upon the loss of their standard as very ominous."

The Moorish standard-bearer was killed in the engagement and also a leader of some distinction, "the General of the Algarnes Horse." Ghaïlán was said to be "sicke of displeasure" at the result of Witham's daring charge in the face of the whole Moorish army, which he had watched with amazement. Disconcerted by the loss of his standard, he "lifted his camp," and gathered his forces together, trying to inflame their fanaticism and rouse them to a fresh attack on the Infidel, while Teviot sent home the captured colours and went on fortifying the town.

"Our other lines and trenches were in a few days brought to that Perfection that the Enemie durst not attaque us," wrote an eye-witness, who adds: "It is a great comfort to see how chearfully, from the Highest to the Lowest every man here puts his hands to the Work."[1]

Addison, having described the engagement, continues:—

"Since this was done we have seene none of them but in small scattering parties which we conjecture is occasioned by the strict observance of their Ramodan, which is instant. His Exᶜᵉ is very active in building the great new fort situate upon the West part toward the sea, 800 feet from without the trench of the upper Castle, upon a base that consists of two half bastions and a curtain Cannon-proof on all sides, with a vast trench about it made to lodge a company of foot.

"Since our works began we have had dayly skirmishes without any losse worth mentioning. His Exᶜᵉ has his tent

[1] "A Brief Relation of the Present State of Tangier," 1664 (538 c. 36, Brit. Mus.).

close by the new fort, where he eats and lodges constantly, having not laid in a bed this month.

"All sorts of persons receive great satisfactions in his government and are much encouraged to serve their Prince under so prudent a conduct.

"The Moores call his Exce 'Devil,' they report that he never sleeps but leaning against some part of the works, that he has made flying ships (meaning, I suppose, the tents that are in the camp), that his great guns run of themselves . . . that he is a man of success and cannot be beaten. And they have good reason to admire his performances."[1]

Teviot's successes, coupled with the "suddain gallantry" of the Tangier Horse, had the effect of greatly increasing the prestige of the English in Morocco, and the mines laid about the forts caused a panic amongst the Moors, as yet unused to this method of warfare. For a time they hazarded no more direct assaults upon the lines, but confined themselves to the harassing practice of ambuscading the English soldiers whenever they went beyond cover of their own guns.

With ready resource Teviot adapted his tactics to a form of fighting utterly different from the pitched battles of contemporary European warfare, and turned his attention to improving his men in the art of scouting,

"and for the security of his workemen himself in person did every morening, with all his horse and considerable numbers of foot make ample discoveries of the grounds about, to a considerable distance, and after placed guards and scoutes to the greatest advantage imaginable."[2]

There were two successful engagements to report in March, when the Tangier Horse again proved their value, and put the enemy to flight, in spite of the rocky ground in which the fighting took place.

Teviot never allowed his men to imitate or avenge the mutilation of the dead practised by the Moors, and after one of these skirmishes, two of the enemy's dead being brought into camp, on Sunday morning, after church time, he caused the bodies to be placed on biers, shrouded in

[1] Addison to Williamson, 14th March 1664 (C.O. 279, 3, 32 *et seq.*).

[2] Colonel Sir Tobias Bridges to His Majesty the King, 5th May 1664 (C.O. 279, 3, 53-60).

white linen, and "strewed with flowers with all prudentiall decency." Then, preceded by a white flag, he himself, with an escort of soldiers, followed the biers to the bounds of the camp, where the Moors received them with tokens of gratitude and respect, "much amazed at this unexpected civility."[1] In after years Teviot's courtesy was forgotten; once, at least, the garrison avenged the barbarity of the enemy by decapitating the dead they left on the field, and a sailor, who visited Tangier in 1674, saw at Whitby Fort "the skinne of a Moore very well tanned, with his Mahometan lock on the crown of his head."[2]

Nearly a month's quiet followed the skirmishes in March, and in the next one, on 21st April, an attempted surprise by the Moors failed completely.

"The Moores four days agoe addressed a strong Embuscado for us," Teviot reported; "but wee surprized them in finding us soe ready to receive them, soe that in lew of any advantage in the least hayre of our head, they were forced to retire, and in open field suffer the ffier of many musqueteers. Since that time we have not heard of them, and soe at present we are quiet and Injoye our Cattell, who feede dayly on 800 acres of good ground."[3]

These successes, combined with the activity of the Mediterranean squadron under Admiral Lawson, were not without effect on the conduct of the neighbouring pirate strongholds, of late so menacing to English shipping. "Those of Argier" (Algiers) assured Lord Teviot that the ships and goods they had seized were preserved by their Government, and should all be restored, and the men they had captured set at liberty, "and what shall be found wanting shall be satisfied for by those that made the seizure"; "those of Tituan" offered to "enter into a free trade, etc., with the town of Tangier, and in case Gaylan shall oppose it, then to shake off his obedience and give themselves into the protection of Tangier."[4]

[1] "A Brief Relation of the Present State of Tangier."
[2] Rawl. MSS., c. 353, f. 14. 19th May 1674.
[3] Teviot to Westcombe (copy) (C.O. 279, 3, 40. 15/25th April 1664).
[4] News Letter, 22nd April 1664 (Heathcote MSS., 150-151).

At the end of April an ominous quiet prevailed in the enemies' camp, and for five or six days not a Moor was seen. Probably Ghaïlán's irregular levies had been sent to collect a fresh supply of provisions, for in a few days they returned in great force, burning with fanatical zeal against the Christian stronghold, which in their eyes was defiling the sacred land of Morocco. Ghaïlán was priest as well as warrior by profession, and the conquest of Tangier would have doubled his spiritual and temporal power. He was never wanting in courage, and he was now receiving fire-arms and ammunition from the Spaniards, "his back-friends, more than in wishes," and possibly also from the Dutch; he was in command of a force more than ten thousand strong, and the time seemed ripe to plan a determined attack on the British position on the 3rd of May, a day marked by a signal Mohammedan success in 1662. Teviot, suspicious of the apparent calm, made extensive reconnaissances, and marched more than three miles to the westward, crossing the Jews' River and traversing a thick wood without so much as seeing the enemy. Yet, in spite of all precautions, a day or two later, one of the fiercest fights that had yet taken place ended in a disaster to the British forces which cost them the life of their leader, and shattered the high hopes raised by his previous success, undoing in a day much of the good he had accomplished during the time of his command.

For some time Teviot had had the design of cutting down or burning the brushwood on the far side of the Jews' River, which gave effective cover for a Moorish advance on that side;[1] he no doubt thought that a successful action fought on the fateful 3rd of May would have double the moral effect of any other time; he was not ignorant of the danger, but determined to face it. It is evident that he meant fighting, for on the morning of the 3rd he prepared for an advance in greater force than usual, making extra dispositions to guard against attack, and saying to some of his officers as they rode out, "Gentlemen, let us look to

[1] Colonel Roger Alsopp to Sir R. Fanshaw, 13th June 1664 (Heathcote MSS., 156).

ourselves, for it was this day two years that so many brave Englishmen were knocked on the head by the Moors, when Fines made his sally out."[1]

The events that followed are best told in the words of the report sent to the King by Colonel Bridges, in the absence of Fitzgerald, the Deputy-Governor:[2]—

"Upon the third instant, my Lord having early in the morning made a further discovery with his horse than ever he had done at any time before to the South-East, and after placing his Centinels and Guards, judging the Countrey for a great distance at least to be cleare of any enemy, ordained all the horse to forrage there, directing some foot to lye neere them for the making good the retreat if anything unexpectedly should happen. And he himself tooke a resolution to goe into the wood with some foot to cutt wood and immediately went over the vally to the west hill towards Fort Charles and tooke with him 7 battalions[3] of foot, all firelocks the best and choycest of our men, and the principall and chiefe officers of our garrison to command them, hee himself being accompanied with severall gentlemen volunteirs and reformed officers[4] marched over the Jewes river into the wood and went up three several waies, they being all appoynted to meete at some particular place some distance above the hill. But so it was, notwithstanding his farr discovery before made by the horse, which I feare produced more than ordinary confidence, before they came up to the middle partey of the hill in the wood, severall ambushes of foot discovered themselves with which our men skirmished and drove to a retreate, but presently on all handes they rose up and appeared in such great numbers that they immediatly had surrounded our men; at the same time the horse started upp round about in the valley and on the hills to the south-east not less than 2000, and came pouring downe not onely upon our horse, but tooke the advantage in a moment to fall between the wood where our foot were and the hill, that although our men fought as resolutely and gave as good fyer as men could doe, they being thus

[1] Pepys's "Diary," 2nd June 1664.

[2] Sir Tobias Bridges to His Majesty, 5th May 1664 (C.O. 279, 3, 53 *et seq.*; *cf.* also Davis, *op. cit.*, i. 63).

[3] The term "battalion" in these letters is frequently used to denote a company.

[4] Reformed officers, or "reformados," serving without a commission, and sometimes without pay.

surrounded with their army of horse and foote, our worthy Generll, the officers and gentlemen with him, and all the whole party of the soldiers were cut off, not thirty of them, as I can find, that ever came off. There is lost in this action his Excellv the Earl of Teviott, our Generll, with 19 commission officers and 15 gentlemen and voluntiers, the doctor, together with 396 non-commission officers and private soldiers."[1]

A servant of the General, one of the nine survivors of the detachment led by Teviot himself, reported that they were first attacked by about three thousand Moors, whom they defeated and pursued for a quarter of a mile, when they suddenly fell into an ambush of four or five thousand more. Finding themselves cut off from their base, and outnumbered by more than ten to one, they fell back, fighting step by step, to the "Jews' Mount"—since known as "Teviot Hill"—and there made their last stand. With hardly a hope of relief, but without a thought of surrender, Teviot rallied his men to face the dense masses of Berbers and Arabs, who with wild excitement swarmed to the attack only to be driven back for a time by a steady fire, leaving many a still figure on the hill-side to show where a well-aimed bullet had found its mark. A moment's respite was gained, but the fire of fanaticism was now ablaze. As the first lines wavered and broke, others pressed on to take their place; with reckless bravery the white-clad followers of the Prophet hurled themselves against the line of English steel, while Teviot's ever-lessening but still steadfast band, their ammunition spent, fought grimly on as man after man fell, until at last all were borne down under the overwhelming rush of the enemy, and the silence of death fell over the sunny hill-side, as the Moors carried away the heaped-up bodies of their

[1] Colonel Roger Alsopp reported on 13th June: "The officers slain in the conflict was his Excellency the Earl of Teviot, Major Knightley, Major Fitzgerald, Captain Langton, Captain Rudyard, Captain Brookes, Captain Boulger, with five lieutenants, seven ensigns and sixteen gentlemen and reformadoes." One of the survivors of Teviot's force reported that he had but eight companions on his return to Tangier; probably a few men wounded earlier in the day succeeded in getting in, and so brought up the number of survivors to nearly thirty. A complete list of the officers killed was sent by Sir Tobias Bridges to Sir W. Bennet, Secretary of State; it is given by Davis, *op. cit.*, i. 65.

dead, and nine men — all who were left of the "seven battalions of the best and choicest," who had gone confidently out from Tangier a few hours before—made their way down through the underwood to the anxious city, carrying with them a story dark with disaster, yet brightened by a record of gallantry worthy of being re-told to the undying honour of the garrison of Tangier.

The officers left in command of the town hardly realised the extent of the catastrophe until all was over, but the long line of fortifications was so sparely manned, that they could not in any case have sent out an effective relieving force. Captain Mordaunt, of the Governor's Regiment, made an attempt to get some boats up the Jews' River, but they were driven back by a strong east wind; and the Moors having come up to the outworks, the garrison was fully engaged in holding the lines. Had Ghailán pressed on he might have had a chance of further success, but the truth was that the day had afforded him but a disastrous victory. Teviot and his men had sold their lives at a price too high for the Moors to pay more than once; the Moorish losses amounted to well over a thousand, and Ghailán withdrew his army, never again to venture an attack in force upon Tangier.

News of the reverse was received with consternation in England. Pepys writes on 1st June:—

"Southwell tells me the very sad newes of my Lord Teviotts and nineteen more commission officers being killed at Tangier by the Moores . . . which is very sad, and he says afflicts the King much."

A chorus of censure was raised against the General for his one fatal blunder by critics at home who forgot his former "prudent conduct and industry, his great and worthy actions against the Moors, his success to all men's admiration," to which Colonel Bridges's report paid a high tribute of praise. "To them that knew the Moores and thayr way, it must seeme beyond anything could have been squared to the rules of warr or prudence," wrote Peterburgh. Mr Coventry (of the Tangier Committee) criticised Teviot to Pepys as

"the boldest adventurer of his person in the world, and from

a mean man in few years was come to this greatness of command and repute only by the death of all his officers, he many times having the luck of being the only survivor of them all, by venturing upon services for the King of France that nobody else would; and yet no man upon a defence, he being all fury and no judgment in a fight."[1]

Lord Arlington, too, added his word of blame in lamenting

"the unhappy loss of my Lord Teviot at Tangier, upon a Project which hath much lessened his reputation of Soldiery and good Conduct, which he will hear himself if he hath outlived it, and be a prisoner in Guylands hands, as it is yet possible he may be,"[2]

surely ungenerous criticism of one who was a gallant, if too daring, soldier, and a pioneer of the Empire, who, in the early days of the British standing army, helped to establish a tradition of devoted service which succeeding generations have not been slow to uphold.

[1] Pepys's "Diary," 4th June 1664.
[2] "Letters of the Earl of Arlington," ii. 26, 2nd June 1664.

CHAPTER V

THE POSITION OF TANGIER BEFORE AND DURING THE DUTCH WAR (1664-1667)

THE reverse of the 3rd of May served at least to show that a single disaster, however great, could not undermine the resolute hopefulness of the garrison, who met the dangerous situation in which they were left with a fixed determination to allow the enemy no further advantage.

"This sad misfortune and great breach hath filled us all with sorrow and distraction," wrote Colonel Bridges, "yet are all willing to contribute our utmost for the safety of this place, and if possible to preserve those forts which allready hath cost so much care and charges."[1]

Colonel Alsopp, writing to Sir Richard Fanshaw on 13th June, said he believed they had taken measures of defence which would enable them to defy "Guyland and all his Moors"; he adds that all hands are at work on the fortifications, and the troopers, contrary to anything he has seen elsewhere, "after they have made their discoveries," willingly bring lime for the work.

"Notwithstanding our great watching, working, and poverty, we are knit together, so as I may be bold to say it must be a more knowing enemy than Guyland, through the providence of God, can break us."[2]

[1] Bridges to the King, 5th May 1664 (C.O. 279, 3, 53).

[2] Colonel Roger Alsopp to Sir R. Fanshaw, 13th June 1664 (Heathcote MSS., Report, pp. 156, 157).

In the absence of the Deputy-Governor, the command devolved on Colonel Roger Alsopp, who by reason of ill-health resigned it, with the consent of a council of war, to Sir Tobias Bridges.[1]

Colonel Bridges at once took "a view of both Regiments of Foot," and found present only four captains, one of them, Captain Mordaunt, being "very sick and unserviceable at present," "very few Lieutenants and Ensignes and those not of the best, some companies not any commission officer left." The numbers of the garrison he reported on 26th May to be but one thousand four hundred and fifteen foot and a hundred and forty horse, twenty-nine of the latter being unmounted.[2] The position of this small force was very critical. To add to its difficulties illness broke out among the soldiers in June; stores were running very low, fresh provisions were scarce and dear, the grass was burnt up so that it was impossible to get sufficient hay for the horses, which were also infected by disease, and no pay had been received since November.

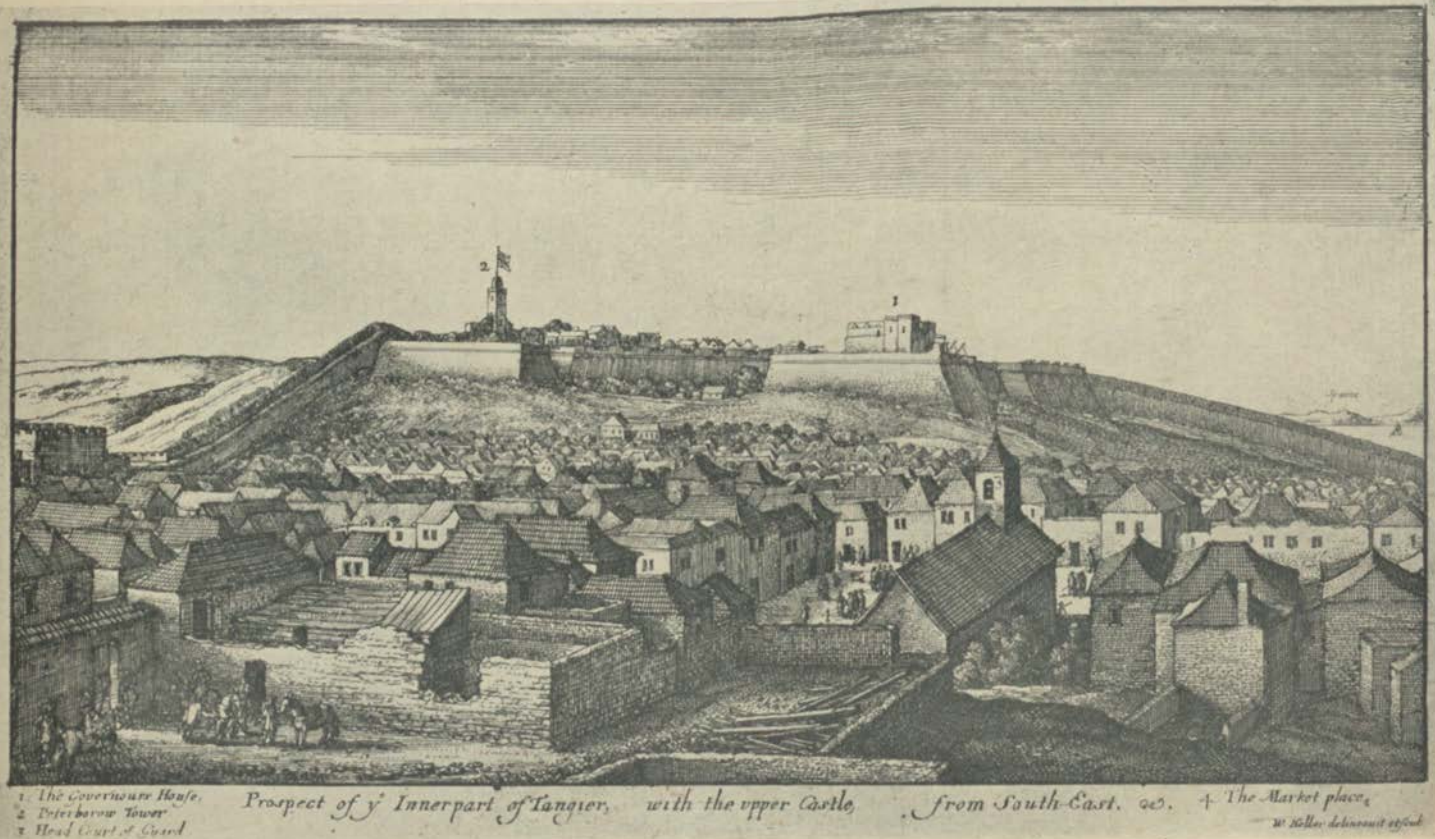
"In truth," wrote Colonel Alsopp, "we are as poor as may be, for excepting the provisions in the King's stores we have scarce an officer in the garrison that is able to buy himself a good dinner, but courage and fidelity is ever most known and set forth in the greatest want."

Captain Witham was sent home with all haste in the *Royal Katherine* of London with despatches from Bridges imploring the Government to send recruits, lime and workmen's tools[3] to enable them to finish the forts; provisions, of which they had only five weeks' store; and, above all, money,

[1] Sir Tobias Bridges, or Bridge, had commanded a troop of horse at Dunkirk. He subsequently became colonel of the regiment of foot sent to Barbados in 1667 (Dalton, *op. cit.*, i. 62, 75). Lieutenant-Colonel Roger Alsopp commanded a regiment of foot at Dunkirk in 1661, died at Tangier on 26th November 1676.

[2] Bridges to Bennet (Arlington), 26th May 1664 (C.O. 279, 3, ff. 65-8. *Cf.* Muster-rolls of 1664; *ibid.*, ff. 76-109; and Davis, *op. cit.*, i. 67-70). Colonel Alsopp says "of old officers there is Col. Sir Tobias Bridge, Major Fairborne, Captain Mordent, Lieut.-Colonel Molloy, Captain Danell, Captain Carr, and about twelve lieutenants and ensigns" (Heathcote MSS., Report, p. 156).

[3] "Shovells, spades, pick-axes, hand-barrows, wheel barrows," etc.


1. The Governours House.
2. Peterborow Tower
3. Head Court of Guard
Prospect of y^e Innerpart of Tangier, with the upper Castle, from South-East. &c. 4. The Market place.
W. Hollar delineavit et fecit

1. The Governour's House.
2. Peterborow Tower.
3. Head Court of Guard.

TANGIER, WITH THE UPPER CASTLE, FROM THE SOUTH-EAST.
BY WENCESLAUS HOLLAR.

4. The Market place.

[*To face p.* 72.

for several months' pay was owing to the whole garrison. Teviot had spent prodigally, and "the cash which my Lord left . . . was judged to be very inconsiderable."

It was not surprising that at such a time a few restless spirits should be ready to sow sedition in the garrison; the chief offenders were Wilson, a "factious and seditious" merchant, who was imprisoned for reviling the late Earl of Teviot, and a political prisoner, John Davis, who, for uttering "passionate bold truths," had been deported to Tangier,[1] where he got into further trouble by saying that "kings were but men as well as other men, and that the king was but one man and the people of England 1,900,000 and of them 1,899,000 were of his own opinion," and by writing a letter in which he asked "if the great boy (*i.e.*, the King) be like ever to be better, and what is like to become of him?" The inflammatory speeches of these two men kindled a feeling of discontent in some of the soldiers; four men deserted to Spain, and others talked of joining the Moors. The trouble, however, was short-lived, and by the end of July, Bridges was able to report that the sedition-mongers had no effect on either officers or men.

The want of fresh provisions from Morocco was very serious, but, after all, the chief strength of Tangier came from the sea; so long as English frigates could keep command of the Straits there was no need for despondency. "England's naval bases have been in all parts of the world," writes the historian of "Sea Power," "and her fleets have at once protected them, kept open the communications between them, and relied upon them for shelter."[2]

At the first word of distress, the *Phœnix* and *Advice* came swiftly to Tangier Road to give what help they might; and Sir John Lawson, on receiving a letter from Colonel Bridges, at once set sail from Alicant with his whole squadron to show the Moors that the arm of England's power could

[1] Cal. S.P. Dom., 5th January 1664/5, p. 545; *ibid.*, 1668, p. 322. Davis was a victualler to the navy and surveyor to the Duke of York, and a member of Parliament. He was eventually allowed to go from Tangier to Spain, where he died.

[2] Mahan, "Influence of Sea Power on History," p. 83.

still reach to her settlement at Tangier. The improvement in the condition of the place which resulted from this move was increased by the generosity of the Countess of Teviot, who, having missed a message sent to tell her of her loss, arrived at Tangier from France on 3rd June, expecting to join her husband, "full of hopes and joy, but now most disconsolate," as Bridges wrote to Fitzgerald:

"Her designe is (if possible to effect it) to pay the Garrison to the 4th of May, my Lords' Honour, the good of the Garrison and her owne satisfaction and interest being (as she conceives) much concerned therein."[1]

A large Moorish army was still encamped near Tangier, and almost every morning in June and July skirmishes took place in which the garrison was uniformly successful. "Notwithstanding our great loss we still daily face the Moors, and have not lost an inch of ground or a single man since the Earl's death," said Colonel Bridges, who did his best to carry out Teviot's plan of "fighting with one hand and fortifying with the other."

Eleven forts were now built or commenced at good strategic points round the town; a new redoubt, 24 feet high, was built looking south towards the sandhills as a defence against a Moorish encampment near the ruins known as "Old Tangier"; another new fort, "Whitby," was built by the sea, to guard the men bringing stone to the Mole; Fort Anne was completed to the height of 26 feet; and Fort Charles, the largest of all the forts, situated west of the town, was raised and strengthened. "You may easily imagine how busy and diligent old industrious Co[ll] Allsoppe hath been and is," wrote Bridges, in reporting to Fitzgerald on these proceedings. The lines and fortifications were principally laid out by two distinguished engineers, Sir Martin Beckman and Sir Bernard de Gomme, "the King's Engineer General," who, by a resolution of the Commissioners, was given special facilities for fortifying Tangier. The cost of the fortifications was estimated at £800 a year for four years.[2] Their work

[1] C.O. 279, 3, f. 145, 21/31st June 1664. *Cf.* also Bridges to Fanshaw, 14th June 1664 (Heathcote MSS., Report, p. 158).

[2] Estimate of fortifications, 1665-8 (C.O. 279, 3, 282, December 1664).

was much hindered by the urgent want of materials of all kinds for building; Beckman earnestly requested that "his Majestie would make haste with relief for Tangier," and Sir Bernard de Gomme drew up a long list of absolute necessaries, including shovels, spades, nails, hand water-mills, pumps, "barroughs," tar, pitch, baskets, tents, leather powder-bags, fire-locks, and "a good meester carpenter."[1] A number of recruits and workmen, with ordnance stores and supplies of all kinds were sent out during the summer of 1664,[2] but always there came the demand for more; the needs of Tangier were never more than half supplied. Years afterwards the engineers spoke of the weariness of being constantly short of materials, tools, and hands.[3]

Colonel Fitzgerald returned in July to take up his post as Lieutenant-Governor. He found the neighbouring Moors ready enough to resume friendly relations with the garrison, but the only communication received from Ghaïlán was the bombastic statement that he would make peace with the English on condition of their pulling down all the fortifications of Tangier. Fitzgerald felt that it would be necessary to prepare for renewed hostilities, and to enclose corn and pasture lands secured by the forts, in order to render the town independent of the precarious Moorish supplies. The line of forts was accordingly strengthened until the intervening spaces were covered by their guns, and in October Fitzgerald wrote to Sir Richard Fanshaw stating that he had finished the line and all the outworks, so that now he cared little whether the Moors chose peace or war, though, for the honour of the place and better encouragement to trade, he endeavoured to bring them to a good correspondency, to which end he entertained about twenty of them, who brought him in three or four hundred head of cattle. This enabled him to give fresh meat, instead of salt, to his men

[1] Sr Barnard de Gome, his list of provisions wanting at Tangier, May 1664 (C.O. 279, 3, 71).

[2] A list of stores sent to Tangier since the Earl of Teviot's death, dated 27th August 1664, includes 500 recruits, 15 masons, 400 spades, 400 shovels, 200 pick-axes, coals, lime, provisions, etc. (C.O. 279, 3, 244).

[3] Pepys's "Tangier Journal" (Smith's "Life," etc., vol. i. p. 367), 25th September 1683.

"to the preserving many from falling sick at this time of the year."[1]

Ghaïlán, in spite of defiant messages, had at length given up all hope of taking Tangier, and turned again to the easier task of besieging Salli. This time he was successful—the English were unable to intervene; and in October 1664 some men of Sûs in the Salli garrison let him in without need of a blow.[2] The fears of the Tangier Committee were fulfilled; increasing injury was done to English merchants, and especially to the "Newfoundland-men" at the instigation of Ghaïlán, and Fitzgerald recommended that three or four sixth-rate frigates should be sent to check the aggressions on English shipping organised by the arch-enemy of Tangier, now for a time established in command of the notorious pirate city.[3]

Throughout the year 1664 a good understanding with Spain became every day more necessary to English interests in the Mediterranean, for every day brought with it sure tokens of a coming war with the Dutch, attacks and reprisals having already been begun by traders on the West African Coast. The "Navigation Acts" of 1651 and 1660, designed to ensure the transport of goods to and from English ports in English-built and English-owned ships, had injured but had not destroyed the immense carrying trade of the Dutch, "the Waggoners of the High Seas," whose naval supremacy the English were determined to wrest from them. A long record of commercial jealousy and maritime quarrels embittered the relations of the two countries, and added their force to the dynastic and personal reasons which induced Charles II. to support the claims of the House of Orange against the existing oligarchic government of the seven United Provinces, then under the able guidance of the famous Grand Pensionary, John de Witt.

The war was certain to be fought chiefly at sea, nor were

[1] 8/18th October 1664 (Heathcote MSS. Report, p. 167).

[2] Letters from Wm. Lee at Salli, 11th October and 8th November 1664 (S.P. Foreign (P.R.O.) Barbary States, Morocco, 13, 263, *et seq.*).

[3] Fitzgerald to Fanshaw, 6/16th November 1664 (Heathcote MSS., Report, p. 168). Rawl. MSS., D 916, f. 60, and Fitzgerald's Letters (C.O. 279, 3, 29th October and 19th November 1664).

the Dutch the only adversaries to be reckoned with. Nothing but hostility to English power in the Mediterranean could as yet be expected from Louis XIV., who was bound by treaty to give help to the Dutch, though he was secretly resolved to run no risks with his half-grown navy, and determined to make only such war as should serve his own far-reaching schemes of European supremacy, which had their beginning in the conquest of the Netherlands.[1] So far, however, the policy of Continental aggression, which Louis afterwards pursued at the expense of the maritime and colonial expansion of France, was concealed behind a stir of naval and commercial activity. French trading-companies, established by Colbert's advice, were threatening rivalry to the great and jealous companies already founded by England and the United Provinces,[2] and a vast, though as yet ill-organised fleet was fitted out at Toulon under command of the young Duc de Beaufort; this fleet was sent out with orders to suppress piracy and to protect French commerce on the coasts of Africa, and, if possible, to establish there a permanent naval base which might rival Tangier. Jigelli, a port beyond Algiers, was seized by Beaufort's ships to this end, only to be suddenly abandoned one night through a baseless panic.[3] This half-hearted attempt at rivalry, though it ended in abrupt failure, was an indication that Tangier must be guarded against the jealousy of France, no less than against the hostility of the United Provinces and the resentment of Spain. The danger was at least recognised, and by order of the King a constant correspondence was kept up by the men whose part it was to watch England's interests in the seas of Southern Europe — Fitzgerald at Tangier, which no ship could pass unseen; Lawson, in command of the fleet; the English consuls at Cadiz and Lisbon; and Sir Richard Fanshaw at Madrid — these men sent to each other any news they could glean of the attitude

[1] "Sous prétexte de la guerre, je travaillerais de toute part à nouer des intelligences et à mettre sur pied des forces capables d'éxécuter tout-ce que je voudrais entreprendre ailleurs." Mignet, "Succession d'Espagne," i. 426 ("Mémoires de Louis XIV.").

[2] Mahan, *op. cit.*, 105-6.

[3] July 1664 (Corbett, *op. cit.*, ii. 48).

of the Spanish Government, of the doings of the French, or of the movements of the Dutch fleet under De Ruyter, who was cruising about the Mediterranean and the Straits.

This being the situation on the eve of the Dutch war, the urgency of Fanshaw's work at Madrid may be clearly seen, for on it depended the two points of vital importance which he was pressed to carry against the "pompous inertia" of the Spanish Court. These were the freedom of trade between Spain and Tangier, without which the latter must depend on supplies from England or Portugal, necessarily precarious during a naval war, and the freedom of a Spanish port or two for English ships, in order that the Mediterranean squadron might be kept clean, well-provisioned, and ready for immediate action.

In the autumn of 1664, Philip IV. of Spain, finding his correspondence with the Moors of little effect, at length made an open attempt to get Tangier by treaty with England, and instructed his "Resident" at the English Court, Don Patricio Omoledei, to request its cession from Charles II. Queen Catharine, always interested in this the "brightest jewel" she had brought to the Crown, received the Resident with marked disfavour, and the King himself rejected the proposal with decision, saying that the Spaniards had no more to do with Tangier than they had with Plymouth, and "they had better plainly tell us they will quarrel for it than proceed so uncertainly as they do with us." Arlington, on being sounded by the Spanish envoy as to "His Majesty's mind, whether he would admit of Propositions concerning his parting with Tangier and Jamaica for a valuable consideration," replied, no doubt truly enough, that "he would either by such an overture make his Majesty very Angry, or very Merry."[1]

Meanwhile the Duke of Medina Celi continued in his old ways. To a letter from Colonel Fitzgerald asking for a "good correspondence," he sent a vaguely civil reply; but, under pretext of fear of the plague, then at its beginning in London, did all he could to keep Sir John Lawson's frigates out of Spanish ports. He revived an old proclamation forbidding commerce with Africa on pain of death, he

[1] Letters of the Earl of Arlington, Sept. and Oct. 1664 (vol ii. pp. 44, 49, 50, 52, 55).

imprisoned some men who were found with a boat-load of lime intended for Tangier, and hanged a man at Gibraltar for the same offence, at the same time continuing secret negotiations with Ghaïlán.

The English Ambassador at Madrid, who was making every effort to arrange a treaty of peace between Spain and Portugal, was hard put to it to surmount all the obstacles and delays which confronted his diplomacy. He was instructed by his Government to obtain the "good correspondence" for Tangier which Fitzgerald had asked for in vain, and was told "you must not be mealy-mouthed, but press them vigorously therein, with all the exaggeration and fervour the case shall require."[1] Lawson, at the same time, was urging him to obtain an order from the King of Spain for the freedom of two or three Spanish ports for English ships, for the harbour at Tangier, though useful to small vessels for careening and watering, was wholly inadequate for the needs of the Mediterranean fleet.

For some time Fanshaw found it uphill work to obtain anything but empty promises, "business not ripening so fast in these Spanish climes as fruits do."

The Dutch ships were favourably treated in Spanish ports, but Lawson, in the *Resolution*, could "obtain no pratique at Mayorke, Alicant, nor none of those ports," and said that the Governor of Andalusia gave him many fair words but few good deeds.[2] In August 1664, Fanshaw wrote to the Admiral:—

"You do with much reason wonder it should be so tedious a task to obtain from the Spanish Council order to two or three of their ports, (that) the King our master's ships may have the free use of them, and the rather since the Holland's fleet, with less reason in respect of fear of infection, had from the same Governors who refused pratique to you, not only pratique, but the highest and most joyful entertainment almost that you have heard of."[3]

In September, Sir John Lawson, on his way home to take up a higher command in view of the approaching war, was

[1] Arlington's Letters, ii. 77.

[2] Sir John Lawson to Fanshaw, 24th July 1664 (Heathcote MSS., Report, p. 160).

[3] Fanshaw to Lawson, 6/16th August 1664 (Heathcote MSS., Report, p. 161).

refused pratique at Alicant and Malaga, and at Gibraltar, he says, "they were so uncivil as not to let us have the least refreshment for our moneys."

Fanshaw's insistence, however, slowly took effect at the Spanish Court, and he at last obtained orders for the good reception of English ships in Spanish ports, and also permission for free commerce between the coasts of Spain and Tangier, for which Colonel Fitzgerald wrote to thank him in the name of the whole garrison.[1]

The situation in the Mediterranean was now much improved. In September De Ruyter was summoned to the Guinea Coast, leaving for a time only "gallant rich merchant ships" in that sea, with two or three men-of-war for convoy. Sir John Lawson was replaced in the Mediterranean command by Captain Thomas Allin, with local rank as Admiral, who came out with orders from the Duke of York to sail for Tangier and consult with Lawson about the war with Algiers, and to "consider of the most proper stations for protecting his Majesty's subjects and annoying the Enemy, and to order Frigates to ply accordingly." The Lord High Admiral advised that one or two ships be stationed at Tangier to convoy small vessels through the Straits.[2] On 30th October Allin renewed the peace with Algiers on the old terms, and negotiations were set on foot with Tunis and Tripoli in order to clear the sea for war with the Dutch. In December he unfortunately met with a serious disaster, running his own ship, the *Plymouth*, and four others aground on the Spanish coast "in a night of dismal rain and darkness," the *Phœnix* and *Nonsuch* being lost, which, he said, half broke his heart. A few days later, though war was not yet formally declared, he attacked the Dutch Smyrna convoy coming out of the Straits, probably by command of Arlington, took two ships and sank two more.[3] Early in 1665 the Vice-Admiral was called home with his squadron, leaving Tangier undefended except by the *Crown*, which cruised between Cadiz and the Straits to

[1] Heathcote MSS., Report, p. 168, 6/16th November 1664. *Cf.* Arlington Letters, ii. 58, 59.

[2] James II. ("Memoirs of Naval Affairs," p. 101, August 1664).

[3] Admiral Allin to Sir R. Fanshaw, 17th and 25th December (Heathcote MSS., Report, 172, 173); Laird Clowes, *op. cit.*, ii. 423-4.

protect English trading vessels, and had one or two encounters with the Dutch.

War was declared in February 1665, and on 8th April Lord Belasyse,[1] the new Governor of Tangier, arrived at his post, which he had obtained by the powerful influence of "Mr Secretary Bennet"[2] (Lord Arlington). Belasyse sailed from Plymouth with two hundred recruits on 22nd March in the *Foresight*, escorted by the *Elizabeth* and *Eagle*, the two latter ships under orders to return home as soon as they had convoyed the Smyrna Fleet and some other merchantmen past an "upstart fleet which the Dutch were scrambling together" in the Mediterranean.

The new Governor was much impressed on arriving at Tangier by "the nobleness off its cituation and greate importance to the crowne," and thought

"his Majesty would have a greater esteeme off it than any other off his dominions weare he heare to see the prospects off the Streights uppon Spain, the shipps that pass, the frutefull mountaynes off Affrique, the fragrent perfumes off flowers, rare frutes and sallads, excellent ayre, meates and wines which this place most seamingly affords, or shall doe."[3] He also observed that Tangier was "at psent in a verrye improveing condition, especiallye since my arriveall."

It was during the Dutch war (1665-1667) that the value of the Mole began to make itself felt; it was indeed the foundation of the security and commerce of Tangier.

[1] John, Baron Belasyse, 1614-1689. Second son of Thomas, first Lord Fauconberg. On the breaking out of the civil war he joined the King at Oxford, and was created Baron Belasyse of Worlaby, Lincs., on 22nd January 1664/5. He raised six regiments of horse and foot at his own charge, and was present at the battles of Edgehill, Brentford, Newbury and Naseby, and the sieges of Reading, Bristol and Newark. After the Restoration he was made Lord-Lieutenant of the East Riding, and Governor of Hull, and captain of the guard of gentlemen-pensioners. He resigned his post at Tangier because, being a Roman Catholic, he was unable to take the oath of conformity. From 1678 till 1684 he was imprisoned in the Tower on suspicion of complicity in the "Popish Plot." In 1687, James II. made him first Lord Commissioner of the Treasury ("Dictionary of National Biography").

[2] Cal. S.P. Dom., 5th and 14th June 1664.

[3] Belasyse's Report, 13th April 1665 (C.O. 279, 4, 71).

Although unfinished, it made the harbour, without it almost useless, a haven of refuge for merchant vessels, where they could safely wait for convoy; its battery of guns formed an effective seaward line of defence, without which the town would have lain open to a naval bombardment. Belasyse, having received from Westcombe, the ever-watchful consul at Cadiz, "seasonable advises about the hollands dessignes uppon the shipps in the baye," was able to report that these ships were secured by "several new platforms for cannon" on the Mole, so that "yeasterdaye 12 of the Hollands men of warr sayled verye dullye before the Baye, but durst not come within reach of the cannon, where wee weare well prepared to receive them."[1]

Tangier successfully held its own during the war, though the Dutch naval captains, Ghaïlán, and the Governor of Andalusia were all corresponding together against it. The Duke of Medina Celi was still promising the Moors "munitions of war against the English." He imprisoned Consul Westcombe on a slight pretext, and did his utmost to prevent trade between Spain and Tangier.[2] Nevertheless, Spanish boatmen daily risked the passage to take provisions to Tangier, in spite of the blockade which the Dutch attempted to enforce; and merchants from Cadiz and elsewhere made the place a depôt for their goods, taking advantage of the "free port."

The Dutch, however, had some success in obstructing supplies and intelligences, and seventeen or eighteen sail cruising before Tangier during the summer took several "barcos longos" coming from Cadiz and Malaga with wine, sheep and other provisions, the Dutch captains being resolved "to remain before Tangier until they starve it, that the Moors may take it if they cannot." Belasyse and Westcombe in vain urged the need of a squadron of ships to be sent against the Dutch men-of-war which were "hovering about the Straits mouth, sometimes in and so out, to wait for our merchant ships and for the *Crown*

[1] Belasyse to Westcombe, 22nd April 1665 (C.O. 279, 4, f. 75) and 12/22nd May 1665 (*ibid.*, f. 84, and S.P. For. Barbary States, Morocco, 13).

[2] Heathcote MSS., Report, pp. 189, 207.

frigate (Captain Wagger), which they heartily endeavour to snap if they can."[1]

All available ships of war were needed for the main fleet against the Dutch, and it seemed possible that the Tangerines might indeed be starved out, for the victuallers whose business it was to provision the garrison could send nothing for want of convoy, and the stores intended for Tangier lay mouldering for weeks at Plymouth. At length, in the autumn of 1665, a provision fleet was ready to sail; but a few weeks after its departure the news was received with consternation at Court that within three leagues of Tangier it had been attacked by nine Dutch ships, which captured four merchantmen and the *Merlin* frigate, whose commander, Captain Charles Howard, "behaved himself bravely with his twelve guns," and fought in defence of the victualling ships for five or six hours, until he had but eight men left unhurt, and he himself had been twice wounded.[2]

The loss of the long-expected provision fleet, which came in, shattered and pursued by the Dutch, with only one month's provisions, was a serious blow to the garrison, and Belasyse complained bitterly of the neglect of his interests in England, to which he attributed all misfortunes. The ships, he said, were sent out ill-manned and worse ordered, their convoy was hopelessly inadequate, and the provisions that arrived were in bad condition. Fortunately supplies from Spain and Portugal helped the garrison through the winter.

Louis XIV. of France declared war on England in January 1666, and the movements of the fleet at Toulon, commanded by the Duc de Beaufort, re-awakened the vigilance of the Governor of Tangier. It was rumoured that this fleet was to join the Dutch in an attack on Tangier, "but," wrote Belasyse, "pleas God our recrutes and nessessarys so often desired by me arriving, I shall not feare the attempts off the whole world."

[1] Westcombe to Fanshaw, 11/21st June 1665 (Heathcote MSS., Report, p. 195).

[2] Heathcote MSS., Report, p. 211. Laird Clowes, *op. cit.*, ii. 425, 426. Cal. S.P. Dom., 3rd, 5th, 10th, and 14th November 1665, pp. 40, 43, 50, 58.

Beaufort's instructions were, if possible, to clear the Mediterranean of an English squadron which was sent out in January under Sir Jeremy Smith to protect the Levant trade and to relieve the situation at Tangier. Colbert wrote urging him to beat the English, lest a loss of French prestige in that sea should determine the pirates of Algiers and Tunis to side with England against France.

"Il est fort à souhaiter . . . que vous battiez les Anglais, parce que, s'ils demeuraient avec des forces suffisantes dans la Méditerranée, il serait fort à craindre que ces gens-là changeassent de sentiment. Enfin, battre les Anglais est bon à tout." [1]

So long as Sir Jeremy Smith guarded the Straits, however, Beaufort stayed at Toulon, for his fleet was hastily equipped, inefficient, and short of men, and he dared not risk an engagement.[2] At Tangier it was often rumoured that Beaufort had already sailed, and the officers of the garrison thought and hoped that his objective might be their own station. On 17th March an erroneous report reached them that the Dutch and French fleets were off Alicant, and, the wind being east, might be expected to enter the Straits. The English Admiral being then under orders for home, hurriedly set sail from Tangier to join four of his frigates at Cadiz before the enemy's ships could cut him off, and Belasyse arranged to advise him of their approach by a beacon on Peterburgh Tower.

Still the French did not come; the garrison was eagerly expecting news of their approach; "a ship fraught with pieces of eight for this garrison could not be more wellcome than this intelligence," wrote Colonel Norwood, who thought they were "in a posture to entertain their enemies better than they think." To Fanshaw he wrote:

"wee are looking out sharply for Mons. Beaufort with the French armada to attack us, as is given out from all parts.

[1] Lettres de Colbert, iii. i., 8th and 25th February and 2nd March, pp. 51, 59, 69. *Cf.* Cal. S.P. Dom., 14th November 1665/6, p. 58. M. de Beaufort has a commission to seize all English ships; and Corbett, *op. cit.*, ii. 55, 56.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 58, 59.

I am soe charitable for that nation as to think their affairs are not managed by such weak counsels, for if they force us to set our wits to theirs, we shall—to human understanding—use them no better than they were treated at Gigery" (Jigelli).[1]

The garrison was, however, disappointed of the glory of resisting a bombardment by the French. After the recall of Sir Jeremy Smith, Beaufort at last put to sea; but, leaving Tangier unmolested, he sailed out of the Straits, intending to join the Atlantic squadron under Du Quesne. He got no further than Lisbon, but the report of his approach caused Prince Rupert's squadron to be detached from Monk's fleet in order to meet him—a move which prevented a decisive victory for England in the "Battle of the Four Days" in June 1666, and which might have been avoided had an English naval force been left at Tangier to block Beaufort's way through the Straits.

The position of Tangier during the war, which continued from 1665 till 1667, was infinitely better than might have been expected from the scarcity of English men-of-war in the neighbouring seas. One cause which contributed to bring about this result was the useful flotilla of "private men-of-war," which, well-armed and fitted for the sea, and furnished with letters of reprisal against the Dutch,[2] cruised along the coasts of Africa, making prize of any Dutch or French vessels they could seize, and taking them to be sold at Tangier. Several French merchantmen fell into the hands of these privateers during the winter of 1666-7, some laden with fruit and wine, another with lead. The cargoes of vessels condemned as prize by a Court of Admiralty were sold in the open market under the supervision of officers nominated for the purpose.[3] All profits

[1] Heathcote MSS., Report, p. 250.

[2] Eleven ships licensed for Tangier (Cal. S.P. Dom., 28th January and 11th March 1664/5).

[3] Until the formal establishment of a Court Merchant in 1668, the Governor of Tangier was empowered "to appoint, constitute and keep a Court of Admiralty, and appoint Judges and Officers for the same for the hearing and determining all maritime causes." All "confiscations, prizes, goods and merchandizes condemned by a Court of Admiralty" were to be put into an account, to be set in annually, the proceeds thereof to be used for the supply of the magazine

were claimed by His Majesty's principal Commissioners of Prizes at Whitehall, but in practice they were usually applied locally, either to fitting out more privateers or to some other public service. Privateering was a safeguard to trade, and brought business to the place; besides this, as Captain Witham remarked, it was very beneficial, because "it busies troublesome heads, and by it we have (I beleeve) above fower thousand busshells of wheat now in Tangier." Another writer observes: "This openeth an honest way of livelyhood to those Englishmen, whose necessities have debauched them to unable and shifting wayes of living."[1]

A great advantage to Tangier was derived from the establishment of a regular weekly post to Spain. In August 1664 Colonel Fitzgerald arranged for a "barquo longo" to ply once a week to and from Cadiz as a packet-boat, so that letters might be sent home with those of the English Consul. This arrangement appears to have been interrupted early in the Dutch war, but it was renewed in June 1665, when Mr Westcombe, "by the Lord Belasyse's order, settled a post twixt this place and Tanger, for letters to go and come every week."[2] The boat went to Tarifa, and thence the letters reached Cadiz on Saturday or Monday, to be sent on by post to England *viâ* Madrid, with the

or forces under command of the Governor until further orders (Commission of the Earl of Peterburgh).

In 1666 "The Rt Hon. John, Lord Bellasis, as well by commission from His Majesty (warrant of 3rd July) . . . as by authority derived from H.R.H. the Duke of York, Lord High Admll of England," was appointed to have the care and management of prizes brought into Tangier, to receive prize-money and nominate officers necessary to that affair. He nominated Cll Henry Norwood, treasurer; John Bunne, Esq., comptroller; and Henry Rumbold, junior, storekeeper, Commissioners of Prizes, with salaries of £250 per annum each, to be paid by the treasurer by warrant from Lord Belasyse out of the prize-money.

Belasyse, in October 1666, expended £1,980 of prize-money on setting out and equipping a ship called the *Salamander*. In (16th) November the clear proceeds of prizes (over and above incident charges) amounted to £3,910, 8s. 4d., of which £1,800 was allowed for salaries of officers. Belasyse was directed to hand over the balance to Lord Ashley, H.M.'s treasurer for prizes. (Proceedings of H.M.'s principal Commissioners for Prizes at Whitehall (Harl. MSS., 1510)). Orders are signed by Albemarle, Lauderdaill, Arlington, Ashley, Berkeley, Anglesey, Will. Morice, *Sec.*

[1] "A Description of Tangier," 1664 (583, c. 8. Pamphlets, Brit. Mus.).

[2] Westcombe to Fanshaw, Cadiz, 11/21st June 1665 (Heathcote MSS., Report, 195).

despatches of Sir Richard Fanshaw, to whom Lord Arlington wrote:—

"Your Excellency is not ignorant of his Majesty's value and concernment for that place (*i.e.*, Tangier), so that your letters cannot contain things more acceptable to him than any news thereof; for which purpose you must make it your business to establish in Cadiz some constant correspondence."[1]

Another cause contributing to some extent to the comparative well-being of Tangier, was the treaty of peace renewed with Algiers by Vice-Admiral Allin on 30th October 1664, which enabled the Tangerine privateers to pursue their calling without any interference save that of rivalry from the pirates of Algiers. This peace was, however, a doubtful advantage, and was a source of much perplexity to Lord Belasyse, who frequently found himself involved in the embarrassing task of upholding the claims of the "heathen Turk," the traditional and real enemy of his countrymen, against those of Christian merchants from Europe, whose interests in the long run coincided with those of Tangier. The Algerines thought it well within their rights to capture Spanish boats bringing fresh provisions to Tangier; some of their prizes they brought into Tangier for sale, in order to avoid the voyage back to Algiers, and over these hot disputes often arose. Breaches of the treaty followed the endeavours of the Governor to protect Spanish or French traders from the aggressions of his allies, and, incidentally, to make something for himself out of the transaction. The English consul at Algiers found it impossible to keep the government of Algiers to the treaty when Belasyse tried to show favour to the owners of the Spanish "patache" *Margarita*, which was run into Tangier Bay by a pirate brigantine. He wrote to the Governor that the peace would be jeopardised unless all the claims of the Algerines could be satisfied. "Your Lordship well knowes how ticklish these people are," he said, "and when they most unjustly went searching our ships for strangers goods they soone after made

[1] "Arlington's Letters," ii. 22, 21st April 1664.

prize of Englishmen." Even during a so-called peace the Algerines could usually find an excuse for raiding English vessels. The history of the years 1665-7 points out in no uncertain way that a few English frigates were a better security than many treaties, against the depredations of these irrepressible scourers of the sea, whose livelihood depended on the capture of peaceful shipping, and whose whole object was to plunder the fruits of that commerce which could form the only means of existence of the English colony in Africa.

CHAPTER VI

TANGIER AND THE MOORS—1665-1670

DURING the time of the Dutch war intercourse with Ghaïlán was limited to a series of more or less friendly negotiations; the ill-omened 3rd of May passed without incident in 1665, though the garrison was under arms all day expecting an attack. The fact was that Ghaïlán's power was already half-eclipsed by the shadow of the "Great Taffiletta," the Emperor Mulaï Er Rasheed II., whose star was rapidly rising over the plains of Morocco. News of Moorish affairs travelled very slowly to Europe, and the Spanish and Dutch diplomatists who promised help to Ghaïlán if he would attack Tangier had little idea that the Moor, who answered their proposals with so much arrogance, was being ousted by a new power from his hard-won dominions, and was forced to delay by sheer necessity. An inkling of the truth filtered into Tangier, whence it was reported that "the Saint was upon the back of Guylan with a considerable army"; upon which Fanshaw commented: "If this prove true, I should think a very good game might suddenly be played there, nipping and crushing the Hollanders in those seas into the bargain."[1]

Ghaïlán was indeed hard pressed by his old enemy Ben Boukir, and by the renowned warrior Er Rasheed. The Shereef Mohammed, whose claim to the throne he had, nominally at least, supported, had been killed in 1664, and Ghaïlán was now fighting openly for his own hand against the sacred Shereefian dynasty. Day by day he felt his

[1] Fanshaw to Lord Holles, 19/29th April 1665 (Heathcote MSS., Report, p. 180. *Cf.* Davis, *op. cit.*, Appendix B, for an account of the Moorish chiefs, including "Cidi Mahumed Ben el Hadge Ben Bowcar").

hold on Morocco loosening, as his adherents one after another deserted him and went over to his victorious enemy, and Alcazar and Tetuan, Salli and Azîla, threatened to slip from his grasp.

As Ghaïlán's power waned, his friendship for the English grew apace, and in May 1665 he began to treat for peace, though he still made a show of offering it as a favour, and couched his letters in terms of unabated pride. He asserted that he had never broken peace with the English, and that hostilities had always been begun by them, and still demanded the demolition of all forts built since the beginning of 1664; this, he said, was only fair, because Teviot had disregarded the article of the truce arranged by Fitzgerald limiting the building of new fortifications.

It was fortunate for him that Lord Belasyse was ready to take him at his own valuation, and to treat with him as with a strong and successful prince. The Governor seems to have found it hard to realise that the once redoubtable enemy of Tangier was now little better than an outlawed fugitive, whose treaties were worth just so much as the paper on which they were written.

Early in 1666 Ghaïlán made a final attempt to regain prestige among his followers by attacking the Spanish garrison of Laraiche. This attempt failed, and in April of the same year he at last made a treaty of peace and alliance with the English.[1]

[1] C.O. 279, 6, f. 27, 2nd April 1666; and Davis, *op. cit.*, i. Appendix D. Articles of peace concluded between John, Lord Belasyse, and "the Most Excellent Cidi Hamed Hader Ben Ali Gayland, Prince of West Barbary, Arzilla, Alcassar, Tituan, Saly, etc." The treaty arranges that—

1. The peace shall last for ever.

2. The English line is to include the fields between the Jews' River and the River Ticeros of Old Tangier, as the line is marked out, within which space they may sow what they please, but may not plant vines or trees, or make fortifications or trenches.

3. Gayland shall provide guards while the English are cutting and carrying wood into Tangier, the Governor to pay the said guards.

4. There is to be free trade with the ports of both parties.

5. The Moors will furnish "Cows, Sheep, Hens, etc.," upon notification, the Governor paying for them at the accustomed rates and for the cost of carrying them into Tangier.

6. No new fortifications shall be built without the lines, but those already built may be finished and kept in repair.

Lord Belasyse considered this treaty superior to that concluded by Teviot on several grounds—first, because the peace was to continue "for ever," instead of for six months; next, because better commercial arrangements were made; and finally, because it was stipulated that Ghaïlán should assist the garrison in case of an attack by a Christian enemy. This clause, the 10th, was specially aimed at the French, and Ghaïlán was kept informed of the movements of the French fleet, and was warned by Colonel Norwood, who succeeded Fitzgerald as Lieutenant-Governor of Tangier in February 1665, to be ready to repel the landing of French troops on the coast. It has been seen that the expected French invasion of Morocco never took place, and the only real advantage the English gained by the treaty was a temporary facility for buying provisions from the Moors, whom Colonel Norwood encouraged to trade with the garrison "by all insignificant endeerments he could imagine," so that fresh meat, fish and poultry were for a time plentiful and cheap.

To Ghaïlán the advantages of the treaty were far greater, for he was in greater need of an ally. In June 1666 he suffered a serious reverse near Alcazar. One of "Taffiletta's" commanders fell unexpectedly upon a detachment of his cavalry and utterly routed it. Ghaïlán, on hearing of the disaster, at once took horse and hastened to the support of his troops, but, finding them broken and dispersed and in full retreat, he was unable to rally them. Even a trifling reverse always had a disastrous effect on the *morale* of the Arab cavalry, and the Berber tribesmen after a defeat, like the Afghans, were neither to hold nor to find. They vanished

7. Deserters shall be returned by either party.

8. Not more than ten "casiles" may enter Tangier with merchandise at a time.

9. Boats may freely fetch stone for the Mole anywhere between Cape Spartel and the Eastern point of Tangier Bay.

10. Gayland shall assist Tangier against any Christian enemy attacking it.

11. The English are to give Gayland 200 barrels of fine powder.

12. "Strangers Boats" which go and come to Tangier are not to be seized by Gayland's subjects within the points of Tangier Bay.

13. The English will assist Gayland with ships in case of need against any of his enemies not in amity with England.

14. Merchants are to have equal justice in recovering their debts on either side.

like dust before a storm, and probably appeared a few weeks later among the forces of the victorious enemy. After a short and desperate fight, in which he was five times wounded, twice in the face, Ghaïlán, vanquished only by the desertion of most of his troops, was forced to fly to Azîla with no more than three hundred men.[1]

Thence he wrote to Colonel Norwood, entreating him to send a ship to his aid, and to be ready to receive any of his people who might seek refuge at Tangier. Norwood, now in command of the garrison, at once sent two ships to Azîla, with a letter expressing his sympathy and his willingness to aid any Moorish refugees. Thereupon Ghaïlán again wrote, enclosing a list of "certain trifles" he required, begging the Governor to send them, and with them a surgeon to dress his wounds, "trusting in God to repay you." With this letter he sent as a present an English captive, the horse which had carried him in his last desperate flight to Azîla, and which, he said, had proved itself thereby a good one, a camel and a lion.[2] The Colonel at once sent him one of the regimental "chirurgeons," by the help of whose ministrations and that of his own indomitable spirit the Moorish chief was soon again in the field against his enemy, Er Rasheed II.

The rapid consolidation of the Moroccan Empire under this Prince was regarded with some anxiety by the governors of Christian garrisons on the African coast. Colonel Norwood, acting on instructions from Arlington, took up the policy of attempting to maintain a balance of power in Morocco by supporting Ghaïlán, still the leader of resistance to the rising dynasty. He did indeed point out the advisability of negotiating for "free traffic" with Taffiletta's dominions, but at the same time he promised Arlington that in no case would he "break off unhandsomely with Gayland." In accordance with the treaty he sent supplies by sea to Azîla, now closely besieged, on condition that Ghaïlán, on his part, "under the favour of our Artillery, would trouble the enemy with frequent sallyes and surprizals.' Tetuan was now in

[1] Gayland to Norwood, 19/29th June, 3rd July 1666 (C.O. 279, 6, ff. 65 and 76; Davis, *op. cit.*, p. 85). Accounts of this fight differ slightly.

[2] Cal. S.P. Dom., 15th July 1666, p. 537. Ghaïlán's letter mentions only the captive and the horse.

Taffiletta's hands, and Salli on the point of going over to him. His many successes gained him the adherence of thousands of the tribesmen, who were always ready to support the winning cause. He collected an enormous force before the walls of Azila in August 1666, as Colonel Norwood reported,

"but Gaylan to spoyle their jest sallyed out uppon them with some 300 horse and some foote, fought with them six houres, killed two of their principall Almocadenes, and put the rest to flight, himselfe comeing off wounded. . . . It was some advantage to him that a boat-master of ours was there a witness of all the action, who prooved to be a good gunner and did him more service in plying his artillery than all his owne gunners, who are the most awkeword people alive to that kind of imployment."[1]

The desperate straits to which Ghailán was now reduced were clearly indicated by the unusually humble tone of the letters in which he begged for help. He proposed to send an ambassador to London "to greet in my name my beloved friend the King of Great Britain," and addressed a letter to Charles II., beseeching him to send ships to his assistance.[2] At about this time Colonel Norwood received a curious communication from one, "Hamed el Hazer el Tobit," who professed to be in Ghailán's confidence, stating that his lord

"only waited to be rid of his present anxiety to leave the country of his own free will, and had decided to make over his lands by treaty to one of the Christian kings," preferably the King of England, "and if his Majesty should be pleased to accept it, he may put this fortress (Azila) into a better state of defence and become lord of this land for his cattle and his crops, having taken such measures of defence as are necessary . . . and if his Majesty should not care to accept it he (Ghailán) would . . . remain the lord of the land and be free to offer it to some other king."[3]

This proposal can only have been a ruse intended to bring the forces of the English into conflict with those of

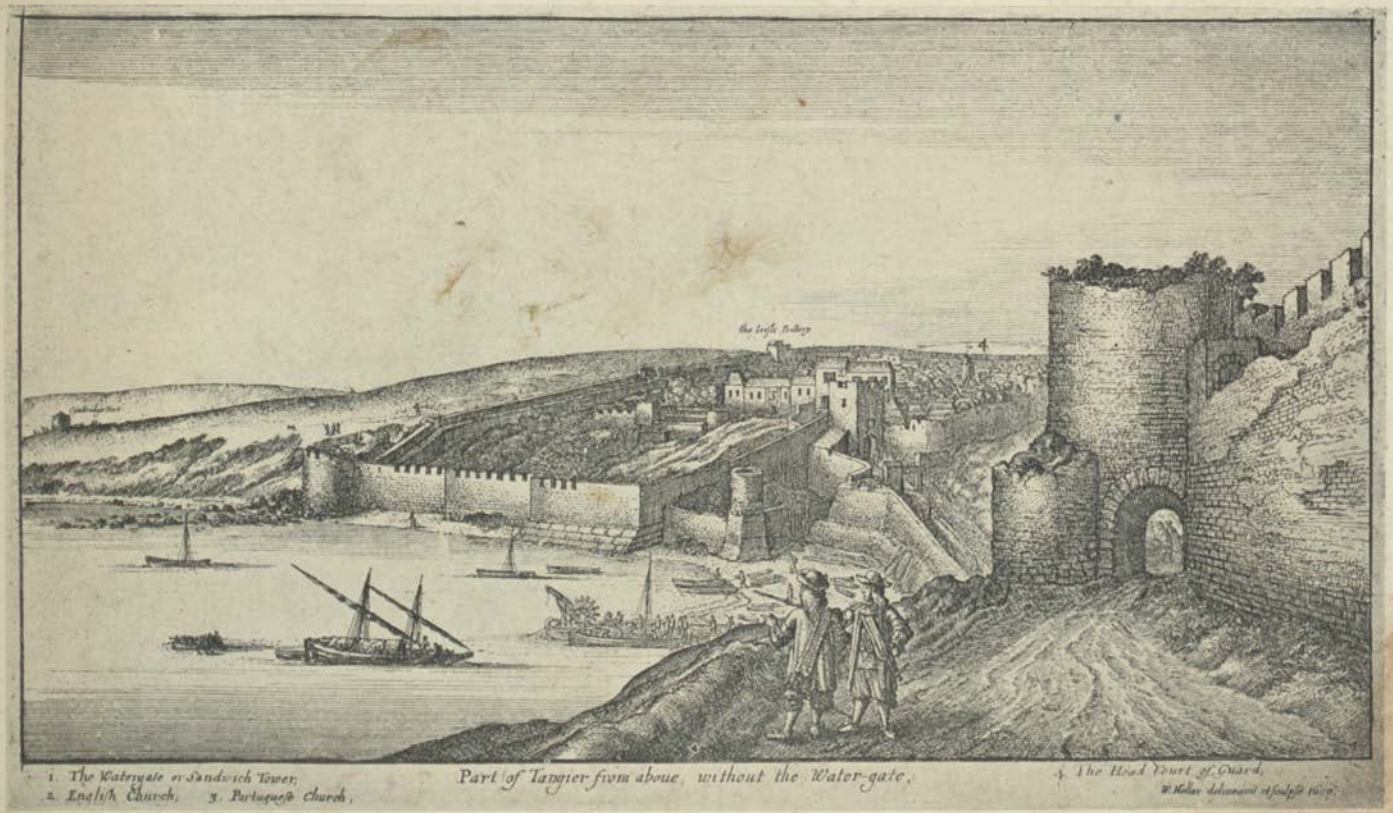
[1] Norwood to Arlington, 31st August 1666 (C.O. 279, 6, 88).
[2] C.O. 279, 8; Spanish Letters, ff. 51 and 85. April and May 1667.
[3] *Ibid.*, f. 49, 20th March 67.

the Moorish Emperor, in the hope that they might weaken each other.

From 1667 to 1668 the seige of Azîla continued; month by month Ghaïlán staved off the day of surrender, checking the mutiny of his hungry garrison by means of successful raids against the enemies' cattle, and stores of flour sent from Tangier. Conscious of his own failing influence, he made secret preparations for flight, and in July 1668, when the discontent in Azîla flamed into open revolt, he was able to gain a short breathing space by the timely arrival of his brother, who came to his rescue with two shiploads of stolen wheat and a crew of Turks, with whom he suddenly manned the fortress. Then, before the vengeance of the mutineers could fall upon him, he hurried on board ship with his women and about three hundred faithful followers, and, it was said, 3,000,000 pieces of eight. Setting sail from Azîla, he made for Tangier, and at last passed as a fugitive through the gates of the city which he had so long hoped to enter as a conqueror.

In nearly seven years of intermittent warfare Ghaïlán had learnt that the honour of the enemy whom he had so often accused of treachery was the only support to which he could trust in time of need. Deserted by his own people, he felt all confidence in the promises of the Lieutenant-Governor of Tangier, and he had no cause to complain of his reception, for Colonel Norwood fulfilled his offer of hospitality with kindness and courtesy; the Moors passed peacefully through the town to their allotted quarters, and when soldiers and townsfolk came out to look at the battered "hero of a hundred fights," with his hardy, war-worn veterans, they seem to have regarded him with an interest which was almost friendly.

The arrival of a group of veiled Moorish women raised a quite considerable stir of excitement in the susceptible hearts of the officers of the garrison, who lamented that the ladies were "kept very close," but yet contrived to discover that "some amongst them were very pritty women." The Lieutenant-Governor himself betrayed an interest and a discrimination in commenting upon "these ladies of orange-tawny complexion," which the sedate propriety of most of


the Irish Battery
1. The Watrygate or Sandwich Tower,
2. English Church, 3. Portuguese Church,
Part of Tangier from aboue, without the Water-gate,
4. The Head Court of Guard,
W. Hollar delineauit et sculpsit 1669.

1. The Watergate or Sandwich Tower.
2. English Church.
3. Portuguese Church.

TANGIER FROM ABOVE, WITHOUT THE WATER-GATE.
BY WENCESLAUS HOLLAR.

4. The Head Court of Guard.

[To face p. 94.

his letters would hardly lead one to expect. "They are composed of divers nations," he told Lord Arlington, "many of them old and ill-favoured, others young and tolerable," and one, "a sister of Gayland's, very fayre and lovely."[1]

Among them was one whose adventurous career is told in bare outline in Colonel Norwood's official reports. She was a Portuguese girl of unrecorded name, who, nearly eight years before, had been captured with her parents by Moorish pirates or raiders, and sold into slavery in the interior of Morocco. The parents, being separated from their child, after some time contrived to escape, and, braving the almost insuperable dangers that beset the runaway slave, at length reached their own country. Their daughter was taken as a slave to Ghaïlán's Court, and was forced, possibly under torture,[2] to renounce Christianity, and profess herself a believer in Mohammed. She grew up surrounded entirely by Moorish influences, but still remembering her own faith and country; moving from place to place, as the fortunes of her master changed, at last she saw some of her own countrymen in the crowd of onlookers as she passed through the streets of Tangier. The details of her discovery are not recorded; but somehow the Dominican priests, for whom Queen Catharine had interceded, found the girl and brought her to the Lieutenant-Governor. Then, in the presence of some of the principal Moors, they asked her to choose whether she would return to the Catholic Church or remain a Mohammedan in Ghaïlán's hands. Confident in the support of the Dominicans and in the friendly protection of the Governor, she braved the sullen anger of the Moors, and thankfully confessed herself a Christian, and soon afterwards was sent home by Colonel Norwood to her parents in Lisbon, who must long ago have despaired of ever seeing her again.

This chivalrous act of Colonel Norwood's brought upon himself the concentrated force of the hatred which Ghaïlán had hitherto felt for all Christians. The Moor's resentment rose to boiling-point at this — to him — unjustifiable interference in his private affairs, and he tried by every means

[1] 17th July 1668 (C.O. 279, 10, 145-8).

[2] *Cf.* Budgett Meakin, "Moorish Empire," p. 148.

in his power to discredit Norwood with the English Government, and to obtain his dismissal from Tangier. Forgetting all the kindness he had received from the Lieutenant-Governor, to whom he owed his safety, and probably his life, he planned an ingenious scheme of revenge. Hastily leaving Tangier, he journeyed to Algiers, and arrived there a short time before Sir Thomas Allin anchored in that bay in September 1668 with nine ships of the line, and with orders to demand reparation from the Dey for the many breaches of the treaty of peace committed by the Algerines. The pirates of Algiers had little esteem for the Moorish fugitive, and promptly secured him and all the treasure he had brought with him in their castle, intending, so at least thought the English Consul, to appropriate his riches to their own use. They were, however, quite willing to accept his co-operation in thwarting the wishes of the English Admiral, and they had plenty of grievances of their own against the Governor of Tangier. In the midst of a stormy council of the Divan, when three of Allin's captains were engaged in making their demands, Ghaïlán came to the gate requesting audience. He brought with him a small chest filled with lead, which, he declared, he had left for safety in the custody of Colonel Norwood, filled with gold and jewels worth 40,000 pieces of eight; while in the Colonel's hands the contents, he said, had been taken out, and lead put in their place. This unfounded accusation was afterwards amply disproved, but it served the purpose of raising a storm of pretended indignation among the members of the Divan, who would do nothing but shout, "The gold and jewels must be restored before there can be peace!" reiterating their demand for the appointment of a new Governor for Tangier. The arguments of the English captains were drowned in the uproar, and after pressing in vain for a final answer to communicate to the Admiral, they left the Divan in disgust, and withdrew to their ships.[1]

[1] Letters from John Ward, Consul at Algiers, to Sir Joseph Williamson, 22nd July, 19th August, and 1st October 1668 (S.P. Barbary States, Algiers, i. 1595-1670 (P.R.O.). *Cf.* L. Playfair, "The Scourge of Christendom," pp. 90-94.

Having succeeded in hindering the negotiations with Algiers, Ghaïlán's next move was to send to the English Government a long list of complaints of his ill-treatment at Tangier. To all of these, however, Norwood was able to give answers satisfactory to the Commissioners for Tangier, admitting only that he had confiscated some of the Moor's goods because "Gayland" refused to pay the debts contracted by himself and his followers in the town, and "gave all up to the Alcaide in the Fields (who waited to cut his throate) with his complament to him, that his Mortall Enemie, rather than any Christian Dogg, should be master of what he had."[1] Ghaïlán's hatred of the English continued throughout his life; he was almost more trouble as an ally than as an open enemy, but his stormy career was now nearing its end. After three or four more years of alternate flight, fighting, and intrigue, he again opened communications with Tangier, and made one more attempt to get back the Portuguese girl whose rescue he so strongly resented.

In 1673 the Governor of Tangier, Lord Middleton, renewed with him the treaty of 1666, on account of the facilities it offered of procuring food for the garrison.[2]

Soon after this, Ghaïlán was again at the head of a considerable army, with some of his followers armed with English weapons obtained by the treaty.[3] This, however,

[1] "Papers relating to Gayland's complaints, and Colonel Norwood's answers thereto," sent to the Commissioners for Tangier (C.O. 279, 10).

[2] Order in Council for ratification of this treaty, 4th June 1673.

[3] Letter from Gayland to the Earl of Middleton (Spanish) (C.O. 279, 16, 300). Alcazar, 12th of Sual, 1083.

"I received your Excellency's letter of the 6th of January 1673. . . . I received the fifty barrels of powder as agreed upon, I also received the 200 guns, 200 lances and 6 barrels of ball, for which I am most grateful to your Excellency. . . . I instructed my secretary to approach your Excellency respecting a sum of money. . . . I am in very great need of a sum of 30,000 dollars. I beg your Excellency in the name of friendship to assist me as much as possible. . . . I must take this opportunity of troubling your Excellency for arms, begging you to supply me with five hundred guns and some pistols, even though you are compelled to take some of those belonging to the soldiers of that fortress (*i.e.*, Tangier), because many men have joined me and I have no arms wherewith to supply them. In this need I am compelled to apply to a friend such as your Excellency. I also require a good gun and a pair of pistols for myself, even though they be your Excellency's own, you are so good a friend that I trouble you for everything."

was his last effort; he was attacked near Alcazar by a force of 12,000 men under Er Rasheed's successor, the great Emperor Mulaï Ismâïl. In the desperate encounter which took place, Ghaïlán fought with his usual furious courage, having four horses killed under him. He was at last shot by a musket-ball, and his head was stuck on a lance by Ismâïl's soldiers and carried before their master, as a warning to all who dared to rebel against the new Emperor.[1]

As Ghaïlán's power declined, the English at Tangier gradually realised that they might have to face a still more formidable enemy in "Tafaletta," who, as Major Fairborne observed, "is growne exceeding great and proud, being now sole Emperor of Sûs, Fez and Morocco," and with whom a fanatical enmity towards all Christians, and a determination to drive them from his country, was the keystone of policy and the secret of influence. Rumours were brought by Jewish traders of his determination to sweep the English and Spanish garrisons in Morocco into the sea, and the relations of Tangier with Spain became more friendly in face of the common danger. For some years the garrison expected an attack by the Emperor.

"God be thanked we are both able and willing to receave him," wrote Colonel Norwood, "and whensoever he dares attaque us your Lordship (Arlington) may depend uppon such an issue as our Master may justly expect from good subjects and honest men who live like brothers together."

The Emperor himself never reached Tangier, but several skirmishes with his forces took place in 1669. In June and July Moorish ambushes were laid under Cambridge Fort and near Anne's Lane, but were discovered by the sentinels, and the enemy was repulsed by the great guns. At the Western Cove, where a round block-house had been built to overlook the valley and to protect the stone quarries, warning of an attempted ambush was given by the barking of three dogs kept there for the purpose, and the Moors were again repulsed. Several skirmishes took place after this in which some hot fighting was seen, and Major

[1] Davis, *op. cit.*, i. 106; Chénier, "Recherches historiques sur les Maures," iii. 367, 368 (Paris, 1787).

Fairborne did good service in repelling the enemy, with the skill and gallantry which always distinguished him. The hay-crop without the lines was brought in with some difficulty, and successful raids were made on the corn sown close to the walls by the Moors, some of which was burnt. The defence of Tangier against an attack in force would have been no easy matter, for there were only about a thousand men in the garrison fit for active duty, and Norwood, having asked for "12 culverin or demy-culverin," reported in 1669: "The gunnes now sent are not fortifyed, almost all of them twelve-pounders only fit for flanking on the wall which allready is furnished of that sort in good proportion." He was anxious to strengthen the outer forts, and to take in the piece of ground known as "Teviot Hill," but his plans would have cost money, and his letters to Lord Arlington were in consequence frequently left unanswered. It was decided at home that diplomacy would be less costly than war, and an attempt was made to come to terms with the Emperor.

In 1669 Lord Howard[1] was sent from England on a special embassy to the Moorish Court, with instructions to conclude, if possible, a treaty of peace and commerce which would insure for Tangier free trade and intercourse with the interior of Morocco.

The Ambassador sailed from Plymouth in the *Mary Rose* on 23rd July, and reached Tangier on 11th August "safely, though sickly." He was accompanied by a retinue of about seventy people. The secretary to the Embassy was Mr Thomas Warren, merchant of London, who carried on a considerable trade in gunpowder and saltpetre with Morocco. His agents at this time were negotiating for the sale of a large quantity of powder to the Emperor Er Rasheed II.,

[1] Henry Howard, sixth Duke of Norfolk (1628-1684), second son of Henry Frederick Howard, second Earl of Arundel, and Lady Elizabeth Stuart. He was made Baron Howard of Castle Rising in March 1669, just before his embassy to Morocco. Married Lady Anne Somerset, daughter of the Marquis of Worcester. In 1677 he was created Earl of Norwich, hereditary Earl Marshal. Succeeded his brother as Duke of Norfolk in December 1677. He travelled much abroad, collected pictures and curiosities, and gave his library to the Royal Society ("Dictionary of National Biography."

and Mr Warren was anxious to go with the Embassy in order to attend to his own business.[1]

Four thousand pounds were spent on presents from Charles II. to the Emperor, including forty cases of pistols and ten guns, a quantity of cloth, and two skins of vellum "curiously wrought in cratisco in high gold," with the portrait of King Charles in oils.[2]

Two days before Howard's arrival, Colonel Norwood advised the Governor of Tetuan of his coming, and requested him to send word to the Emperor, so that a *seguro* or pass might be prepared for the Ambassador and his train.

"The Lieut.-Gov[r] is veary civill and obliging to mee," wrote Howard. "I have a veary greate helpe and assistance from his care and counsells, whom I fynd veary industrious and inteligent in everything."[3]

The difficulty was that no one at Tangier knew where the Emperor was to be found, nor where he would receive the Embassy. It was rumoured that he was busy subduing the Berbers—"those barbies," Howard calls them, "which are a kynde of perpetuall rebelling mountaniers"—and was expected before long at Salli. In the meantime Howard sent Mr Warren and Mr Burghill,[4] "a person of whose

[1] Warren exported saltpetre, copper and beeswax from Santa Cruz, and powder from Salli; in the Dutch war he victualled at his own expense the *Fox* and *Merlin* frigates. He contracted to sell 700 barrels of powder to "Tafilet's" predecessor, which had, however, not been delivered on account of the Dutch war; he wished to obtain the payment of debts due to him from the Moors, on which condition he was willing to deliver the powder to the Emperor. The transaction had the sanction of the English Government (Cal. S.P. Dom., 1669, 18th March, p. 238, and S.P. Barbary States, Morocco, 13, 303).

[2] Warrant for £20 to Gideon Roger for embellishing and writing these (Cal. S.P. Dom., 1669, p. 441).

[3] Howard's Reports of his Mission, addressed to Lord Arlington, are among the State Papers (P.R.O.) under "Barbary States, Morocco" 13 and 14. There is very little information about his embassy in the Tangier Papers. There are many references to it in the Cal. S.P. Dom., 1669, and one letter in the Add. MSS., Brit. Mus., 19872. Letters to and from Howard, quoted here, are from the "Morocco" Papers, 13 and 14. Extracts from these letters are given at considerable length because they appear to have been overlooked by Colonel Davis and other historians of the "Queen's" regiment, who give many quotations from the "Tangier" Papers (P.R.O.).

[4] Sometimes written Burchell or Burel.

discretion and ingenuity he had had long experience," to Salli in the *Mary Rose*, commanded by Rear-Admiral Kempthorne, to arrange a truce at sea. He hoped they would return in eight or ten days,

"after which wherever this great man bee, I hope I shall not lye much longer ydle ere I begin my farder march towards him with a veary considerable addition to the treyne I brought over with mee, which being composed of butt 'twixt 3 and 4 score, I believe will swell to above a hundred. . . . The soberest merchants and those most verst in those barbarous parts doe apprehend much more than I doe of the great risque I shall runne. Such over officious caution and feare . . . I doe as much despise as any."

Howard at first expected to be received with eager deference at the Moorish Court, and thought he had but to speak to obtain "all the inland pratique of those parts." He was soon to find that "Tafaletta" regarded his arrival with indifference, and, having requested and obtained the loan of one of the physicians to the Embassy (Dr Farindale), did not care whether the Ambassador himself visited him or not.

While Kempthorne and Warren were at Salli, where the English Consul, Mr Thomas Onby, did all he could to assist them, Mr Burghill set out to find the Emperor beyond Marrákesh (Morocco city), in order to interview him on behalf of the Ambassador. He wrote to Howard on 20th August to report his departure as follows:—

"A fortnight beinge the least time is possible for mee to spend in goeinge and comeinge, and what time I must stay at Court, is uncertayne, from whence I will (God willing) give your Lordship the speediest account is possible by either Sea or Land and gett your Audience neare as I can, for this is a damned Contrey to Travayle in. . . . I take alonge with mee Mr Onslow, Mr Cholmley, Capte Jones (interpreter) 3 servants twoe others of Mr Warrens being Clobery and a Jew which hee would needs have goe about his businesse of the powder. . . . (Capt Jones and yonge Mascall both speak the language very perfectly.) Wee take along with us three Tents and as many Trunks, two with our owne necessaries (which are very deficient) and one with presents for the K's unckle which is his chief Favourite, and his 2 Secretaryes."

It was an unknown and dangerous journey into the heart of Morocco, but it was safely accomplished by all except a young man named Cholmley, who joined the expedition simply for the sake of adventure, "haveing never been out of England before, and being curious." He fell ill and died just before the end of the outward march, and was buried a day's journey beyond Morocco city,

"leaving all his small fortune to a gentlewoman with whom he was much in love, and had butt a very bare hope of obteyning her agenst her frends consent in mariage at his returne."

On 14th September the expedition returned to Salli, and on the 22nd Howard received the following interesting report from Mr Burghill, sent overland by the hand of a Moorish messenger:—

"SALLI, *Sept.* 14, 1669.[1]

"On Thursday night the first Instant I gott soe farr as the Campe which I found 2 Tediouse dayes journey from Moroco at the foot of those hills where his Matie (*i.e.*, Er Rasheed II., 'Tafiletta') had but the day before reduced some small Castles that had till then held out against him, it was night before our Caravan could get sight of the Camp, where wee pitched untill Morninge, the Kinge sending us 5 Muttons and 20 heñs for supper, and on the morrow wee by order came neare the K's Pavilion, where we stayed on horseback untill his Ma(jesty) sent to have us pitch next to Cidy Abdala Molock the favourite secretary to whom I was recomended from the Governo^r here, (Salli) whose Secretary went alonge with us, wee were noe sooner setled then his Matie sent severall of his people to visite and complem^t us and that Eveninge gave us leave to wayte uppon him, we found him upon a Matt in the open Ayer sitting crosse legg'd neare his Tent Dore and 28 of his greate men in the same posture about him. After I had made him a Complem^t in your Lordships name I tould him you had before your arivall here in Affrica hopes to finde him at Fesse to which hee presently reply'd, hee would meete your Ex: there. I told his Ma^ty since yor L^p coming to Tanger you had been Infor(med) that his Ma^t had taken the feild yor Lo(rdship) judged it most agreeable with the honor and dignity of both Crownes to proceed noe farther untill you had first consulted his Ma^ts pleasure

[1] Morocco S.P., 13, 681 (and copy, 673).

therein, to which hee replyd hee was very glad yor Lo(rdship) was in safety and that yor Ex: had sent one before you, for it was very troublesome Travayling in this Countrey, especially soe farr as Morocco, and when I had presented your Letter hee tould us hee would keepe us noe longer from Rest, and soe wee tooke leave and returned to the Tent, where wee found a Guard to keepe off the people from pressing about the Tent, and some of the Courtiers in it, and severall following Imediately, and amongst them Jonas, all of them assureing us they never sawe the Kinge more pleased or in better humor. That eveninge I sent the presents which the secretary of Sally had promised that Morninge with which they were very well pleased.

"I find this King and those about him soe little versed in any forraigne businesse or Ambassadors they neither know how to receave them or to be treated by them, but depend wholy upon the Direction of the Governors of Sally, comandinge them to Informe themselves of the maner of receavinge former Ambass(adors) . . . I finde this Emperor is well pleased to bee treated as the Grand Signior tho: hee nor any of his people knew how it was, untill I had tould the Secretary and then his Mat liked it exceedingly. When I desired agen to wayte upon him . . . he excused it, sayeing hee neither understood mee nor I him, but left mee to the Secretary Abdala Meleck, whoe gave answeare to noething before he had first accquaynted the Kg with it and then gave it in his Mats owne words."

Burghill then goes on to say that he has obtained leave for the Ambassador to do as he pleases as to his entry, equipage and chapel; that the King has agreed to a truce by sea until Howard's arrival, and has sent word of it to Salli; that he has been advised by the principal Moors not to ask for hostages, and feels sure that Howard will be well received. He sends him a pass under the King's hand and seal, and adds that provisions, sheep, poultry, etc., are being provided against Howard's arrival, and also horses, mules, and camels, but no horse good enough for his own saddle, as they are all worn out with hard marches in the army, and one had better be sent from Tangier. He continues:—

"I will gett a paire of the beste I can and trayne them to your little Chariott if poss: against you com which I hope will

be speedily, but am in noe care for yor rich coach and litter looking upon them as both condemned. I have stretched this scribble to a very great length but must begg pardon for making it soe much longer, as to desier yor Ex: to increase your Trayne noe more (if avoydable) especially from Tang^r^ there beinge none lesse welcom here than those of that garrison.

"*P.S.* I have sent backe the K's watch because it stood still if one side were upwards, and if the watchmaker can mend it the Govr may please send it again."

The necessary pass or safe-conduct, signed and sealed by the Emperor, was duly sent with this report, and every one expected the Ambassador to start at once, before the good impression created by Mr Burghill's very successful diplomacy had time to evaporate, but Howard was seized with anxiety on learning that his envoy had consented to dispense with Moorish hostages, and professed himself dissatisfied with the terms of the pass, which gave him leave to enter Morocco, but said nothing of his coming out again.[1] He vehemently protested his willingness to dare anything in the King's service, and even to leave his bones in Morocco if need be, though, he says,

"My over timorous friends and relations that consider not the style of Barbary, may perhaps be hugely startled and aprehend extreamely my danger in the ventering in amongst thease barbarians."

In spite of his professed eagerness to start, the Ambassador contrived to find innumerable excuses for delay. He thought it advisable to "consult (as I had done afore) with all persons here" as to his going, and reported all the dissuasive opinions he could collect. The Moors, he explained, wished him to

[1] S.P., Barbary States, Morocco, 13, 695, 27th September 1669. Dr Pearson's translation of the original (Arabic) *seguro*, *ibid.*, f. 693, Spanish and English translations, ff. 693, 699:—

"I etc., promise security to the Embassador of England and all that are with him of his servants and followers and wee allow and accept of his Entrance into this countrey of the Musselmen, noe danger nor injury shall be done him in anything, neither shall any one hurt or molest him. Wee will meet him in ffez. Soe peace, etc., the 17th of the second Rubigh year 1080. God grant us good."

enter their country by way of Salli on account of their jealousy of Tangier; Salli, however, must be reached by sea, and the sea was infested by pirates, and he might be captured. Should the voyage be made safely, yet the bar at Salli was extremely dangerous, and the Ambassador's belongings might be lost in the crossing, and himself perhaps be drowned. Should he succeed in entering Salli he might fall a victim to the plague which was raging there. Then, having decided, so he professed, to brave all these dangers, he was obliged to send out his ships from Tangier to protect some English vessels. When they returned, the wind was so boisterous that he could not possibly embark; then, just on the point of departure, to his great annoyance he fell ill, and for a fortnight "endured more payne and phisike" than he ever remembered, and his doctors would "scarce lett him open a window."

In the meantime, Mr Warren and Burghill, and some of Howard's servants, were awaiting him in Salli, where his long delay brought them into great discredit. They were insulted by the Moors, and stones were thrown at them in the streets. The truce at sea which they had arranged was disregarded, and fighting took place off Salli between some pirate ships and the boats belonging to the *Mary Rose* and an English ketch. After the engagement the Moors on land hung out a flag of truce, and almost enticed Kempthorne and others to go ashore. Fortunately, however, Mr Burghill saw that an ambush was being laid, and he and George Elmore, another member of Howard's train, succeeded in signalling to the approaching pinnace to stand off, though they were knocked down and ill-treated by the Moors for doing so. After this they were detained practically as prisoners in Salli. Howard, in relating the incident, remarked that it proved that he himself would have been made "a prey or perpetual prisoner" had he ventured to go there.

The Chief Governor of Salli was extremely hostile to the English, and did all he could to bring them into discredit with the Emperor, telling him that the truce was broken by their fault. With some difficulty Howard prevailed upon him to allow Burghill, with Warren, to journey once more

to the Moorish Court, in order to renew the truce, and to ask for a more satisfactory *seguro* for himself.

"I was allsoe the more cautious," says Howard, "in regard thatt all these Moores are so well knowne to bee a suttle kynde of faithlesse rougues that want no ingenuety or methods how to have penned a more ample pass had they liked."

Should a satisfactory pass be sent, Howard declared that he was "positively resolved to venture" to Fez, though every one "did sweare deeply and with passion denounce" to him that he would be made a slave if he were to go.

Mr Burghill returned from Fez at the end of November, having again seen the Emperor, who "looked very sternly upon him," and asked how it was, he having seemed to go away well pleased, that the truce had been broken, and the Embassy not sent. The English envoys were in a dangerous position, for Taffiletta's violent temper was the terror of all Morocco; but once more Mr Burghill's talent for diplomacy came to his aid, and he succeeded in appeasing the Emperor, who, having heard his story, says Howard in his report of 28th November:—

"streight both understood and took it in the right way, and thereupon turned his anger instantly agenst those rougues and without much farder examenation of the truth of our allegations instantly caused Zibdy[1] to be clapt close prisoner and has fined him allready two hundred thousand dollars and at the same tyme caused two others (of which one was a grand rougue and cheafe secretary bothe to Zibdy and the Port of Salle), to receive 300 drubbes on his baksyde, leaving of him dead at present, of which wee doubt if ever he will recover at all, in the dungeon where he lyes, declaring farther that at my aryvall, as I shall farther demand justice agenst the rest, that theyr heads and estates shall fly, and has theareby soe terifyed the rest, as I am most confident all will now go well with mee even beyond expectation. The next thing was to give mee a new and explanatory passe as toe my going out agen, such as I desyred; and what I look opon as the best omen of all, was his Maty agreeing toe and declaring that on bothe sydes reparation, sattisfaction and restitution should bee made, for all acts of hostileity past

[1] Governor of Salli.

betwixt the King our Master's subjects and his, ever since the day of Mr Burell's first seeing his Royall face, at the campe beyond Morocco."

Mr Burghill brought back a second and amplified pass, and Howard, with his usual bravery of words, announced :—

"I am ready to take horse and goe in amongst them," evidently expecting to be considered a second Curtius. He now arranged to travel by land to Fez, "resolving not to touch or come att all att that damn'd towne of Sally, where I have received soe many and soe foule indignityes, besides that att this time of the year the Barr at Sally is soe badd as my goods and treyne will infallibly runne too great hazard to land there."

Some days passed, however, before horses could be obtained; another delay was caused by the detention at Salli of twenty members of the Embassy and forty-five captive seamen taken since the truce. When the liberation of these men had been obtained, the Ambassador was stopped by "a deluge of wett." In January and February the road to Fez was impassable, for, he said, "all the great violent raynes are falling in those parts and have reduced almost all neare Tanger into a pudle." At the same time a genuine obstacle to his journey arose in the renewed outbreak of civil war in Morocco. Meanwhile Lord Howard, having become very tired of Tangier, in spite of the numerous entertainments which he "strained his fancy" to devise, and not daring to go home without orders, amused himself by spending a few weeks in Seville and Cadiz. "My Lord Ambassador finds his person too considerable to goe among these Barbarous people," shrewdly observed Sir Hugh Cholmley.

Howard returned to Tangier on 1st March 1670, having sent his secretary, Mr Warren, back to Fez a fortnight before with instructions to say that the Ambassador was willing to appoint commissioners to treat for peace. He was now openly determined never to enter Morocco, being convinced that all Moorish promises of safe-conduct were "butt traps layd for mee," and saying :—

"I have mett with as good as demonstrations to convince mee, how that even the Empr himselfe, as well as his grandies

have even from the beginning resolved to make noe other then a prey of my person and all myne, nott having eaver had the least reall thought of making peace with us, wherefore I doe prepare for my returne as soon as I shall heare agen from Fez and (as I hope) get Mr Waren and the rest ofe with the goods."

He was unmoved by a favourable report from Mr Warren, who wrote from Fez on 15th April: "Now the doare is soe freely open for your Excellency to begin not only the Errant you came aboute, but allsoe to ende itt, well, as it was in the beginning."

Howard forwarded the letter to Arlington, saying:—

"I have pryvate and particular inteligence given mee of all materiall things which passe at that court and with Mr Warren, by a better hand than his, whoe both endeavores to turne all concernes to his owne particular interest and is as often mistaken in the newse he wrytes."

He added, no doubt truly enough, that the only object of the Moors was to get the powder which Warren had contracted for, "I hope to crossebite them with this great bate."

Howard then continues:—

"I see it is resolved at last that I never shall have leve to send in any one in hopes to get me to venter in myselfe which I shall never now doe till I resolve to remayne a slave among them theare all the days of my life. . . . I doubt nott however butt that his Majesty will rest satisfyed in my proceedings, first in regard that I can nott force thease brutes to reason and next that. . . . I do protest that besides myne, it is eaverybodyes opinion heare that we ought nott in prudence as yett to have come to the least conclusion with them till wee see . . . whether this oncultivated tyrannical beast will stand or fall . . . regularly at divers seasons this man ('Tafiletta') is raving mad and kills almost all he metes with, even women and children and dothe the like whenere he is in drink to which he is extreamely prone, as well as in his dayly bedlam passions. . . . I feare that his terrible frenzy may have allsoe infected Mr Waren, whoe I am tould scarce now ever sleepes above three owers in the 24, butt to drive ofe melancolly drinkes and smoakes tobacco all day long whilst his tung scarce ever lyes still."

Warren was, indeed, in some danger; his wife, who was staying at Tangier, was in great anxiety on his behalf, but his letters, clearly expressed, and written with a firm hand, give no sign of nervous or mental breakdown. There appears to be no foundation for Howard's supposition that his "feares and disorders had partly crackt his braynes."

Howard had now given up all hope of making a treaty with the Emperor, and, in contradiction to his former assertions, began to minimise the advantages which might be gained by peace. He gave it as his opinion that Tafiletta was on the point of being overthrown by rebellion, and that it would be better to await developments. He now only wished to get back his own people and belongings from Salli and Fez, where Warren, Captain Jones, and Dr Farindale were detained, and hesitated whether or not to deliver up the much-disputed powder, which was the only surety he had for their return.

The Emperor was too busy with his wars to spare much thought for an Embassy, but he wanted the powder, and towards the end of April two Moors came into the lines at Tangier with a message and letter for the English Ambassador. The messengers had strict orders to deliver the letter into the Ambassador's own hands, but firmly refused to take it into the town. Howard, on the other side, was anxious to have the letter, but could not compromise his dignity by going out to fetch it. He writes, in describing the incident:—

"Yr Lopp (Your Lordship) may bee pleased agen to reflect of what incorigible wyld sort of beasts these people are which I have had to treat withall, and what sattisfaction or safety I were like to fynd among them, the most resonable and refyned whereof aryve nott to soe much reson or civilety as the most ruffe mostroper, scotch hylander or wyld Irish teages."

He sent Mascall, the interpreter, to reason with the Moors, but they refused to give him the letter, vowing that they should lose their heads if they gave it to any but the Ambassador himself,

"till Mascall," says Howard, ("whoe acted his part rarely well,) reasoned the case with them and sayd he was suer

I wold never condescend or bee drawne theather, and urged them still to trust him with the letter, if they wold nott come in to deliver itt themselves, which when all wold nott doe, he curst and swore as hard and as like a madman as they, and bad them goe to ten thousand divells and lose theyr fooles heads if they durst returne and nott leave the letter behynd . . . in soe much, as at last he that scolded and wrangled loudest caried it, and they very calmly bad him get instantly up, as he did opon one of theyr best horses, and fynd me out and deliver me the letter . . . which as sone as I opened, I found was onely from Mr Warren."

The letter, with a message from the Emperor, contained only a request that the powder might be sent to Fez, as this was to be the condition of Warren's release. Howard at once gave his consent, to the great joy of the messengers.

"Thease pore rougues whoe were halfe mad with feare and despare before, were now ready to leap out of theyr skinnes and halfe mad for joy, kneling, kissing of the ground, and making as many antique trips and postures as Ferelecum's ape."

This was the last direct communication that passed between Lord Howard and the Court of Morocco. The Emperor again took the field in May, and Howard, surely the most ineffectual ambassador who ever left the shores of England, made his preparations for leaving Morocco, and returning to the more congenial sphere of Whitehall, with the pious reflection that

"it is noe smal comfort that the almost miraculous providence of Almighty God hath altered matters soe at last as to have saved that great dishonour and disorder which the losse of his Majtys Embassador, with all his trayne and goods would have brought upon our nation, having come within a hayres bredth. . . . I was within one hour of falling into those Devils' mouths."

On 7th July 1670 "My Lord Ambassador" at last left Tangier with two brigantines to protect him from pirates on the way to Cadiz. The chief result of his year's diplomacy was the waste of a good deal of money, the

writing of many reports, and the purchase from Leghorn of a quantity of rare perfumes, and of "a delicate red putt up in little glasses, to be used with juce of lemons to red lady's faces."[1]

The present of cloth brought for the Emperor was left in charge of the Governor of Tangier until it became moth-eaten, when he announced his intention of selling it.

Any credit won by this mission to Morocco belonged by right to Burghill and Warren; it would have been hard to find a man less suited to his post than Howard; his obvious fear of venturing into Morocco ruined his chances of favour with the Emperor. Probably even an abler and a bolder man would have met with failure, without a stronger force behind him at Tangier to back his demands, for Tafiletta was a notorious hater of foreigners, and the French envoys who were sent to him to request commercial privileges were coldly received, but the one chance of success was to follow up at once the first good impression made by Mr Burghill at Marrákesh. There was little danger that the Emperor would deliberately violate the written promise of a *seguro*, which was usually held sacred by the Moors. There was, of course, some risk of assassination by an unauthorised fanatic, but this risk was cheerfully taken by others who made fewer protestations of devotion to the King's service. No further attempt was made to win the Emperor's friendship for Tangier, and in 1672 Tafiletta's troubled reign was ended by his death in the Agudàl park at Marrákesh, where,

[1] Letters relating to Tangier, Add. MSS., Brit. Mus., 19872. f. 2. My lord ambassador's instructions to H. Shere, Esq., going to Genoa. Tangier 27th August 1669.

"As I am the greatest covert hunter after sweetes in the world, I desier you will plese to gett for me some of such of those as will lye in little roome . . . but not ordinary ones, and of all smells that of the orange flower or the cittron flower is best, allsoe the tuberose and jasmin are good, allsoe some of the strong hott essence of orange flower, with some oyle of orange flowers . . . and the speritt (not essence) of orange flowers, which is the most delicate smell in the world. . . . It is made of an infinite consumption of orange flowers. And as for cittron flowers, if there be any speritt of that, sure it surpasses all other smells, but if, as I fere, there be no speritt, get any smells of cittron (not lemons) as the essence or oyle." Shere is instructed to purchase these, and the "delicate red" mentioned above, and to "settle a correspondence," so that Howard may in future send for, pay, and receive them in England.

madly galloping under the orange trees after a bout of drinking, he was caught by the neck in the fork of a tree and strangled.[1] He was succeeded by his brother Mulaï Ismâïl, whom the English at Tangier afterwards came to know only too well.

[1] Meakin, "The Moorish Empire," p. 139; Chénier, *op. cit.*, p. 363.

CHAPTER VII

THE CIVIL GOVERNMENT OF TANGIER—1668-1673

THE narrative of English relations with the Moors having been carried up to this point for the sake of convenience, it becomes necessary to return to the beginning of the year 1668 in order to take up the thread of affairs in Tangier itself.

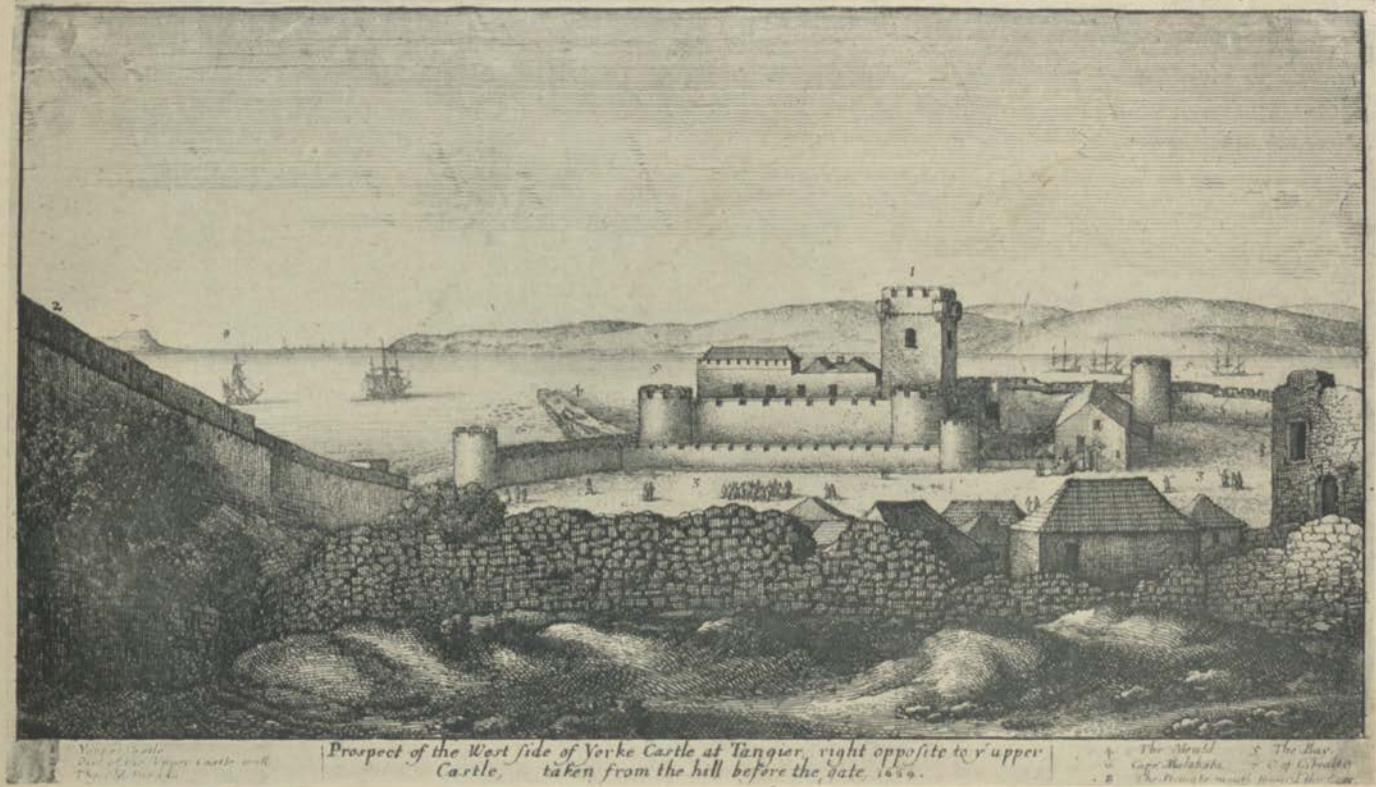
England's African settlement had now reached a critical point in its history; it was at this time that its fate, which had been on the edge of uncertainty ever since Teviot's death, was really decided. The opportunity for success seemed ready to hand; the Dutch war was over, the seas were open to English trade, relations with Spain were improving, merchant ships came from England, France, Spain, and Italy, from Newfoundland, Virginia, Barbados, and Jamaica; the Tangerine privateers, trading or fighting as occasion called them, made the harbour a busy place with their constant coming and going.

By land the armies of the Moors had been repulsed, though with heavy loss to the garrison. "Gayland," once the fiercest opponent of the English, was now their ally; the Filáli dynasty, though a great force in the south, was still struggling for empire, and had not yet pushed its dominion further than the fertile country round Alcazar. Now, if ever, was the time for England to make a further advance into Morocco. A colony can have no healthy life or growth unless its roots strike deep into the soil, and the new land becomes the home of settlers as well as the station of a garrison. If Tangier was ever to become self-supporting, it was time now to enlarge the borders of the colony, to acquire

grazing-rights, to plant farms, and to establish outposts. If the garrison of Tangier could have been doubled, the fortifications strengthened, and colonists settled in the country under the protection of an efficient military force, then, and then only, might the Emperor of Morocco have been induced to listen attentively to the proposals of an English Ambassador, for the Moorish Court was always ready to agree to just so much as the English were prepared to enforce. The English Government had yet to learn that in a country such as Morocco "peaceful penetration" was impossible, and that if trade was to follow the flag, the sword must go before it. The poorer people of the country were indeed willing enough to live on friendly terms with the English, who offered them a market for their goods and paid for what they bought, but the rulers of Morocco cared little for the well-being of the subjects whom they oppressed. They had nothing to gain from the friendship of a garrison which could do no more than defend its own walls; they had a deep-rooted contempt for all foreigners, and a strong belief in their own self-sufficiency; an effective demonstration of power was the only possible means of winning their respect.

An active policy in Morocco was, however, the last thing to which the Tangier Commissioners were inclined; far from wishing to increase the garrison, their one object was to reduce its cost. They had been shocked by the disaster of 1664, and were determined to run no more such risks, and Teviot's daring policy gave way to one of inaction, almost of timidity. Lord Belasyse was a distinguished soldier, but he was hoping for a place at Court, and thought more of pleasing Lord Arlington than of adding to the glory of Tangier. He gave it as his opinion that "our going out is useless and dangerous," and that "no attempts being to be made abroade more horse will be of little use."

These statements inaugurated the policy which was continued in the following years; they mark the close of the hopeful days of England's enterprise in Morocco. As a naval station, Tangier was still of European importance, but as a colony it made no further advance.


Prospect of the West side of Yorke Castle at Tangier, right opposite to y^r upper Castle, taken from the hill before the gate 1669.

1. Yorke Castle.
2. Part of the Upper Castle wall.
3. The Old Parade.

THE WEST SIDE OF YORK CASTLE.
BY WENCESLAUS HOLLAR.

4. The Mould.
5. The Bay.
6. Cape Malabata.
7. C. of Gibraltar.
8. The Straights mouth toward the East.

[*To face p.* 114.

At the root of the whole matter was the want of money. The country had but just emerged from foreign war, and was plunged in debt. The financial affairs of Tangier were in confusion; the mismanagement of the past six years could no longer be ignored, and the Commissioners were bent on retrenchment. They still hoped to establish the prosperity of Tangier, and to see it a centre of commerce; but they looked to a civil government to accomplish that which military commanders had failed to achieve, instead of a regiment they sent a corporation, and an ambassador instead of a general.

Many proposals of reform were brought forward and considered, the first essential being, if possible, to put the establishment on a firmer financial basis. By 1668 it was obvious that the Excise revenues were inadequate for the charges assigned upon them. There was great delay in the payment on tallies for Tangier,[1] and arrears on the Excise continued to increase.

In August 1668 Pepys complained at the Treasury that the pay of the garrison was about a year in arrears, and that his Orders of assignment were so far off that he could not borrow money on them.[2] A fortnight later he called again at the Treasury with Sir Stephen Fox and the Comptroller (for the Commissioners and Household), to say that, unless some relief were given to the Excise, they would not be able to go on, the present burden on the Excise amounting to about two years' anticipation of the revenue therefrom, and, besides this, it is about £[illegible]0 per an. overcharged every year since.

This representation was forwarded to the King, and in December 1668 a project was approved by the King in Council, fixing on the Customs the moneys needed for the

[1] Cal. of Treasury Books, ii. 310, 16th December 1667.

[2] *Ibid.*, ii. 425-426, 31st August 1668. In June 1667 an attempt was made to meet the claims presented by Pepys, as Treasurer for Tangier, by a money warrant for £30,000 for Tangier on the eleven months' tax (*ibid.*, ii. 13, 166), which the King had promised on 14th March; "but that is not what we would have to bring our payments to come within a year," wrote Pepys ("Diary," 14th March 1667).

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 438, 14th September 1668.

next year for the Navy, the Ordnance, and Tangier,[1] the assignments for the last-named being made from 24th June 1668, at the reduced rate of £55,500 per annum.[2]

The need for economy over-rode all other considerations. The Commissioners looked to the Mediterranean squadron to provide the necessary demonstration of England's power off the African coast, and the garrison of Tangier was reduced to a single regiment of foot, supported by no more than half a troop of horse.

This drastic reduction, which left the garrison barely strong enough to defend the existing lines and forts, was regarded by soldiers with some dismay; but it was strongly supported by those who, like Pepys, had a civilian's dislike of military supremacy, and who experienced the practical difficulties of finding supplies for a costly establishment.[3]

[1] Cal. of Treasury Books, ii. 509, 15th December 1668.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 482, 484, 488. The "Establishment for Tangier" of 1668 (S.P. Dom. Entry Books, 30, ff. 52, 53 (P.R.O.)) puts the annual charge at £53,797, 15s. 4d., including expenses of the Mole and fortifications. Tangier was expressly included among the heads of expenditure excepted from the stop of the Exchequer in 1672 (Cal. of Treasury Books, iii. 1172; and *cf.* Cunningham, "Growth of English Industry and Commerce," ii. 224). A warrant under Royal Sign Manual was issued to the Treasury Lords to provide the annual payment of £55,500 for Tangier, but complaints of arrears of pay still continued. In 1674-5 the assignments for Tangier were increased by an Order in Council (9th December 1674) to £57,200 per annum, and were divided between the Customs and Excise, with the exception of one quarter's allowance assigned on the Hearth money (Cal. of Treasury Books, iv. 254, 264, 324).

[3] *Cf.* Pepys's "Diary," 10th April 1667:—"I begun to discourse with Sir W. Coventry the business of Tangier, which, by the removal of my lord Belasses, is now to have a new Governor; and did move him, that at this season all the business of reforming the garrison might be considered, while nobody was to be offended. And I told him it is plain we do overspend our revenue; that it is of no more profit to the King than it was the first day, nor in itself of better credit; no more people of condition willing to live there, nor anything like a place likely to turn his Majesty to account; that it hath been hitherto, and for aught I see likely only to be used as a jobb to do a kindness to some lord, or he that can get to be Governor. Sir W. Coventry agreed with me so as to say that unless the King had the wealth of the Mogull, he would be a beggar to have his businesses ordered in the manner they now are: that his garrisons must be made places of convenience only to particular persons: that he hath moved the Duke of York in it: and that it was resolved to send no Governor thither till there had been Commissioners sent to put the garrison in order, so as that he that goes may go with limitations and rules to follow, and not to do as he please, as the rest have hitherto done."

Ibid., 5th May 1667. "Sir W. Coventry used these words: 'That this place

The constitution of a civil government at Tangier formed part of the King's original design, and was now brought forward in the general scheme of reform planned by the Commissioners. It was hoped that the substitution of municipal for military control in some departments would result in a closer supervision of local expenditure, and that the erection of courts of justice and the usual machinery of civil administration would encourage merchants and others to trade and live in the town, by giving them a sense of the security of their rights and property which was not to be obtained under the arbitrary authority of martial law.

Tangier was incorporated by a charter under the Great Seal of England, dated 4th June 1668,[1] and was declared "a free city and the inhabitants thereof a body politique and corporate with privileges and powers suitable thereunto."

The Corporation was to consist of a Mayor, six Aldermen, and twelve Common Councillors, "discreet and honest freemen to be elected and chosen." All "inhabitants, natural subjects, aliens and strangers being Christians," were eligible "persons capable to plead and be impleaded at law."

Hitherto proclamation by the Governor had been the only method of local legislation. Now, by the terms of the charter, the Mayor was authorised to call a Court of Common Council once a month at least to

"make, constitute, and ordain such laws, orders, ordinances and constitutions as they shall think fit for the good government of the place, and the establishment and encouragement of trade . . . so as the same be . . . as near as may be agreable to the laws and statutes of . . . England."[2]

was to the King as my Lord Carnarvon says of wood, that it is an excresence of the earth provided by God for the payment of debts.'" The Earl of Sandwich was commissioned to "put the garrison in order," and to report on the state of affairs at Tangier, before Lord Middleton went out as Governor.

[1] Privy Seal, April 1668 (P.R.O.). The Royal order for Letters Patent was issued 20/30th April 1668. Copies of the Charter are in S.P. Dom. Entry Books, 30, f. 26 (P.R.O.), and Rawl. MSS., A. 341, f. 194 (Bodleian Library). Cholmley remarks that lawyers thought there should have been an Act of Parliament for the granting of the Charter ("Account of Tangier," p. 73).

[2] These laws to be transmitted to His Majesty in Council for confirmation, and to continue in force for only one year unless so confirmed, and if so confirmed, to continue according to the terms of the approbation. Proclamations by the Mayor and Corporation were drawn up by the "Town Clerk and Notary Tabellion Publique," and sealed with the "Great Seale of the Cittie," *e.g.*, Sloane MSS., 3299, f. 134.

The town was divided into three wards, the "King's," "Queen's," and "Duke's," with Justices of the Peace and Common Council-men for each.

Until 1668 the adminstration of justice was entirely controlled by the Governor, and cases were tried under his presidency in a "Court of Pleas and Judicature."[1] His authority was now limited by the system of government which left to the new courts the trial of all but military offences.

The Mayor, Aldermen, and Recorder—the latter always to be a person "learned in the laws"—were constituted Justices of the Peace, and they, or any five of them (the Mayor and Recorder always to be two), had power to "hear and determine all and all manner of Murders, Felonies, Misprisions, Riots, Routs, oppressions, extortions, and other criminal matters and things whatsoever." All criminal cases were tried by jury at a Court of Quarter Sessions, unless the accused was in actual pay as a member of the garrison.[2]

Civil Cases were tried in a Court of Record held weekly by the Mayor and Recorder, or any three or more Aldermen, who were authorised to "hear and determine all and all manner of Pleas complaints and actions as well real as personal and mixed, and of all debts accounts covenants contracts and differences whatsoever," with the important exception of "all maritime and mercantile causes."

This exception was due to the position of Tangier as a sea-port town, which brought to its gates many merchants and sailors, who, making but a short stay, could not afford time to submit their disputes to the jurisdiction of the ordinary courts. Expert knowledge was sometimes needed

[1] C.O. 279, 8, ff. 57-65.

[2] C.O. 279, 49. Proceedings of a Court of Quarter Sessions, 28th October 1667, are given as follows: "The Court opened — Commission read in His Majesty's gracious charter. Jury warrant returned—warrant for sessions fees returned—grand jury sworn (16 grand jurors), traverse jury (12 jurors) called over and ordered to attend His Majesty's service until discharged by the Bench. The charge given by the worshipful Recorder. The Court adjourned till 2 o'clock, when, a quorum being set, the traverse jury was sworn by the serjeant, and cases heard."

The fees due to the Recorder, Town Clerk and Register, Serjeant, Crier, etc., were settled at a Court held in the Town Hall, 12th November 1668. Each juryman was to receive 6d. (Register of the Court of Record, C.O. 279, 45).

for the right judgment of their affairs, and, in order to overcome these difficulties, and to secure all possible fines and fees to the Tangerine revenues, a separate Court Merchant was established by Royal Charter "for the attracting of trade and the more effectual encouragement of merchants and others trading to and from our Port and City of Tanger."[1]

The Court Merchant was appointed to sit constantly *de die in diem*, Sundays and holy days excepted. It was to consist of "one person learned in the civil laws and four merchants" to be Judges, and one person to be Register of the said Court, who were to be elected annually by the Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council, and sworn before them to

"well and truly administer justice in all cases and without delay fear or favour hear and determine them without respect of persons of what nation soever they shall be, and that according to equity and conscience and their best knowledge and experience in the customs and general laws and practice of merchants."

At least three of the Judges and the "person learned in the civil laws," or his appointed substitute, were to be present at all sittings of the Court.[2]

The province of the Court Merchant, as defined by the Charter, was to judge all cases of

"merchandize or maritime bargains, buying selling or bartering of wares and merchandize whatsoever, and all policies or acts of assurance, all bills, bonds or promises for payment of money, or mercantile or trading contracts, all charter parties or covenants for affreightment of vessels, wages of mariners, and all other mercantile or maritime cases,"

including all questions arising from the proclamation of

[1] 4th June (20 Car. ii.; Register of the Court Merchant, C.O. 279, 41).

[2] At the first Court, 3rd September 1668, there were sworn in the Recorder, Alexander Balam, Judge President; Alderman Staynes, Alderman Gascoigne, Common Councillor Mr Macmath, Mr Anto. Morin, Mercht., Judges; Geo. Gerbier, Town Clerk, Register (C.O. 279, 39, f. 3′).

duties, or other regulations touching the freedom of the port.[1]

The Charter was received and put in force with some ceremony, according to the "Register of the Proceedings of the Corporation."[2] On Friday, 21st August 1668, the officers nominated in the Charter,[3] being met in the Town Hall about 9 A.M., in the presence of Colonel Henry Norwood, His Majesty's Lieutenant-Governor, the Earl of Sandwich, Ambassador-Extraordinary to Spain, and several officers of the garrison, the Charter was publicly read by the former Register of the late Court of Pleas and Judicature. The Lieutenant-Governor then received the oaths of the Mayor, Recorder, and Aldermen; the Court of Pleas and Judicature was formally dissolved, but all its enactments ratified.

The Lieutenant-Governor, the Earl of Sandwich and other persons of quality then congratulated the new representatives; and the Mayor, the Recorder, and Aldermen appointed a meeting of the freemen and inhabitants of the city to choose their Common Council-men at five o'clock that evening.

On their appearance at the Town Hall the Charter was read to them, and they were desired to nominate and make

[1] The procedure of the Court Merchant was regulated as follows:—After the full hearing of witnesses and advocates (either the parties themselves, or a merchant, consul or broker chosen by them) the Court is to consider the case in private, and decide by a majority of votes; the person condemned to be allowed twenty-four hours to satisfy the sentence or compound with the creditor. Appeal may be made to the Governor (or, if he is absent, to his deputy) and the Mayor, and a third person chosen annually by a majority of the Court Merchant. Appeal must be entered within six days of sentence, and is allowed only in cases where the sum or thing in question exceeds £40 in value; the appellant must deposit the full sum that he was condemned to pay, and also one-fifth of the amount, or security for costs and damages sustained by reason of the appeal (Register of Court Merchant, C.O. 279, 41).

[2] Common Hall Register of the Proceedings of the Corporation of Tangier from their first settlement, 21st August 1668, to 20th August 1675 (C.O. 279, 39).

[3] The "officers nominated in the Charter" were John Bland, Mayor; John Luke, Recorder; Major Samuel Taylor, Thomas Bun, Morgan Read, William Staines, Walwin Gascoigne and Nathaniell Wright, Merchants, Aldermen. "Mr Nat. Wright" was not sworn in at this time, being absent in Spain. On 3rd September Mr John Luke resigned his post as Recorder by reason of his other urgent employments, and Alderman Balam and Mr Frederick Bacher being nominated, the former was elected Recorder (C.O. 279, 39, f. 1 and 3).

choice of their Common Council-men; the said freemen and inhabitants then repairing to the Town Hall yard, separated themselves into two bodies, and, "by votes as usual on the like occasions," proceeded to elect their Common Councillors, and unanimously brought up their names in writing, and presented them to the Right Worshipful Mayor, Recorder, and Aldermen.[1] Objections were raised to the election of Mr Soltrany, on the ground of his foreign nationality; he therefore withdrew, and an Englishman, Mr Moskall, was elected in his stead.

The following "Sulbaltern officers" were nominated by the Corporation on 26th August:—

"Serjeant and Waater-bayliffe, 2nd serjeant, cryer of the Courtte; 2 cittye constables, constable of Whitby or the Cove, Citty scavenger." The scavenger to officiate as "'Clerk of the Market,' untill such time as a sufficient knowing and respectable person shall bee pitcht uppon to officiate in that charge."[2]

A loyal address was sent to the King to acknowledge the Charter, and the new Constitution came into force.

One of the first results of the new *régime* was the outbreak of long-smouldering jealousy between the civil and military factions; only a temporary reconciliation was effected by Lord Sandwich, who stopped at Tangier on his way home from a special embassy in Spain, with orders to temper the "heat of the military," and to report to the Commissioners on the true state of affairs at Tangier in every department.[3]

It was only to be expected that the Commander-in-Chief should consider the defence of the town before the encouragement of merchants, but Colonel Norwood had not lost sight

[1] Mr J. Mackmath.
R. Taylor.
W. Whittaker.
Jenkin Thomas.
Henry Holt.
W. Carpenter.
Edw. Chesson.
Thos. Phenix.
S. Bennett.
J. Sharrowe.
S. Boland.
G. Moskall.
Carlos Anto. Soltrany.

[2] C.O. 279, 39, f. 3*b*.

[3] The documents relating to this visit of Lord Sandwich to Tangier are among the manuscripts in the possession of the present Earl of Sandwich at Hinchingbrooke, of which a calendar will eventually be published. The reports of affairs at Tangier in 1668 are dealt with by Mr F. R. Harris, in his "Life of Edward, First Earl of Sandwich, 1625-1672."

of the general interests of the townspeople, and wrote to Arlington that he hoped to send "hapy accounts of this place which will improve (with care and countenance) to much more advantage to his Majesty than the most sanguine lover of it did ever promise." "The Military" thought that they had done their duty by the town, and were not a little piqued by the erection of a rival power, more especially as the division of authority involved an unwelcome sharing of privileges and perquisites. Colonel Norwood was willing to encourage merchants at Tangier so long as they were content to mind their own business, but he regarded their capacity for governing with some contempt. The Mayor, Mr Bland, on the other hand, was much elated by his new dignity, and expressed the opinion that if the soldiery bore less sway, and would not meddle in other than military affairs, the place would soon render the King profit, and affairs would quickly settle; but so long as none must live there but subject to their ways and power, what encouragement, he asked, could me of business find among armed men? Government under new regulations was workable only on the basis of co[illegible]rd between the Governor and the Mayor. [illegible]ss points on which disputes might and [illegible]otony of garrison life was soon broken by [illegible]s, which fur shed the topic of many a day [illegible]ersation to the gossips of he town.

"The news of t[illegible]ace is the corporation's proceedings," wrote Major Fairbo. much to the disattisfaction of most inhabitants and strangers, not having that justice soe equally rendered them as they formerly injoyed. . . . I must needs tell you, that was not the souldiery part very strictly govern'd and the officers a well tempered sort of Gentillmen, Mr Blands great Pride, with his foolishness would soon breed a great Distraction amongst us."[1]

The Lieutenant-Governor admitted that the needs of the place forced him "to justle a little uppon the charter," and the "justling" appears to have seriously ruffled the dignity of the Mayor. The quarrel, in which the whole of the Bland family was soon involved, came to a head over the unlicensed

[1] To Williamson, 22nd September 1668 (C.O. 279, 10, 113).

selling of wine, which Norwood desired the Mayor to check. Mr Bland would not admit the right of the Lieutenant-Governor to grant licences, nor, indeed, recognise his authority in any way. He and his son Giles spread a report that Norwood was guilty of pocketing the soldiers' pay, and that the scarcity of provisions was due to his dishonesty.

The Court of Record, to which the Governor was anxious to refer the case, declined the responsibility of trying it, and the crisis was becoming acute, when Mr Bland solved the difficulty by a sudden and unexpected flight into Spain, which intensified the excitement caused by the whole affair, and was taken by his enemies as proof of a guilty conscience.

"Whilst the Lieu^{t}-Govr hourly expected news from him," wrote Major Fairborne to Joseph Williamson, "coms his man and brings him a letter from the Mare, insolent enough as you will find when you see it, and about half a hour after came news that Mr Mare was fled in one of the Mold boats for Spaine, which makes a great noyse here."

The storm of Bland's dep[illegible]ure cleared the air for a time, and Fairborne wr[illegible] [illegible]veeks later:

"Provided Mr John [illegible] gaine to disturb us, wee shall live in gre[illegible] [illegible]afalata, as puissant as he is [illegible]rowne, is nc[illegible] [illegible] to us as the Mayor in Blanc[illegible] person."

Mr Bland subsequently returne[illegible] Tangier, and in 1670 again served as Mayor; but, after [illegible] cident of 1668, his always poor opinion of soldiers—and especially of Irishmen—sank lower still. The garrison, he said:

"would have none to live here but those that will . . . leave them to rule at their wills; buy all, keep all, make slaves of all and get all, destroy all that will not doe as they doe, and make all fish that comes to their nett."

Party feeling rose very high in the town, but, on the whole, the military authorities appear to have been more popular than the members of the Corporation, who could not agree even among themselves. The quarrel soon assumed the form of jealousy between the Court of Record and the Court Merchant — the one being adverse to the admission of

foreigners to municipal posts, the other supporting their claims to equal privileges with Englishmen.

In December the Lieutenant-Governor had some difficulty in persuading some foreign merchants to remain in the town on account of the severity of the Corporation, and disputes continued to be so frequent that the Commissioners were obliged to interfere, and signed a memorandum charging the authorities at Tangier to live peaceably together.

At the same time they endeavoured to settle some of the points in dispute by a list of instructions sent to the Corporation. These instructions are signed by "James" (Duke of York), "Rupert P." Peterburgh, Sandwich, Cholmley, Pepys, Povey, and Creed (Sec.).'[1] They were probably based on the reports made by Lord Sandwich, and provided—

"1. That the Mayor and officers of the Towne of Tanger be in noe sort molested or hindered in the exercise of their authoritie in the day time, And that in the night after the Taytoo unto the beating of the Reveilliee, they have the assistance of the Captain of the Watch or some appointed by him.

"2. 'That in comon breaches of the peace' a citizen injuring a soldier be punished by the Mayor, a soldier in like case by the Governor.

"3. That the Governor and the Mayor agree on health regulations, to be as near as possible like those at Cadiz and Genoa.

"4. That goods brought into the City (except by Moors) be free to all to buy; the Mayor to 'take care of the Markets.'

"5. That the Military and their families have the right-hand seats in the chief church, the Mayor and Corporation those on the left.

"6. That the Mayor may grant not more than 24 licences to victuallers and 'sellers of drinking liquors,' at 100 p. $\frac{8}{8}$ (pieces of eight) per an. per licence.

"7. That the Mayor and Corporation take into their special care the 'Wharfage, Cranage, Porterage, Ballasting, Pylotage, and Boatage . . . and place . . . reasonable duties for the King thereupon . . . for the advancement of trade and free commerce.'

[1] C.O. 279, 12, 163-166. Approved in Council, 20th January 1668/9; sent on 30th June 1669.

"8. That the Governor and the Mayor together decide whether the 'Barbary Jewes' may continue at Tangier. Jews from Europe that bring estates are to be encouraged."

All these regulations being approved in Council, 20th January 1668/9, it was further resolved—

"9. That the Mayor and Corporation have the house used as a Court of Justice in the time of Lord Belasyse.
"10. Trials for debt, etc. (except mercantile matters), are to be under civil jurisdiction, but the permission of the Commander-in-Chief must be obtained for the arrest of a soldier.
"11. Strangers are to be encouraged. One Alderman and two Common Councillors should be foreigners.
"12. The King's intention to have trade 'wholy free' is not to be frustrated under pretence of sending officers on board to examine the health-bill of ships arriving in the bay.
"13. The Mayor and Corporation are to see that the harbour is not choked up by ballast thrown into it."

Further resolutions deal with the building of a "little Mole," wharves and cranes, public buildings, a "Pest-house," water-supply, sewage, etc., and a long-boat for correspondence with Spain. Monies for these expenses are to be drawn from licenses, rents, duties, wharfage, etc., and fines.

The Mayor and Corporation are to have the ordering of public works, the Governor to sign warrants to the Treasurer for payments.

The command of the garrison was given to Lord Middleton[1] in May 1668, but he was not sent out to his

[1] John Middleton, 1st Earl of Middleton (1619-1673/4), son of Robert Middleton of Coldhame, Kincardineshire. Fought for Parliament in the Civil War, was a Covenanter till 1648, and then became a Royalist. Helped Charles II. at the battle of Worcester, was wounded, and taken prisoner and sent to the Tower; he escaped in his wife's clothes, and joined the King in Paris. At the Restoration he was given an Earldom, and made Commander-in-Chief of Scotland and Lord High Commissioner to the Scottish Parliament, 1661. In 1663 he was deprived of his office by Lauderdale's accusations. Clarendon says of him: "He was a man of great honour and courage, and by far the best officer the Scots had." His character is said to have deteriorated in his later years, owing to habitual intemperance ("Dictionary of National Biography").

post until October 1669. Colonel Norwood, who had hoped to receive a commission as Governor, returned to England soon afterwards.

Lord Middleton owed his appointment to the Duke of York, and was prepared to carry out the orders of the Tangier Committee. Pepys remarked of him:

"he seems a fine soldier, and so everybody says he is; and a man like my Lord Tiviott, and indeed most of the Scotch gentry (as I observe) of few words." "A man of moderate understanding, not covetous, but a soldier of fortune, and poor."[1]

He received strict injunctions to carry out various much-needed reforms, and to enquire into the "debaucherie and dissoluteness" which the Commissioners were "credibly informed" were frequently practised by many officers and soldiers in the garrison, "which is a scandal and inconvenience and a cause of sickness and poverty." He was ordered to check the monopoly of privileges by officers, for "a fewe do trade and keep shopps for all sorts of commodities and doe oblige the soldiers to eat, drinke, weare, and make use of only what is rented by them," to the disadvantage of *bonâ fide* merchants, and so the King's designs are frustrated.

Middleton arrived at Tangier a month before the date fixed for the municipal elections, and by the judicious choice of Major Taylor as Mayor, succeeded in reconciling the civil and military factions to some extent.[2] Other reforms were,

[1] "Diary," 15th April 1667 and 30th June 1667.

[2] Register of the Proceedings of the Corporation (C.O. 279, 39), 11th November 1669. Thursday being the appointed day for choosing new representatives for the Corporation, the freemen of the city being met, and the Mayor, etc., present, the freemen's names were called over and answered to. The city's coroner (in lieu of a sheriff) declared to them the occasion of the meeting, and the elections proceeded. John Bland, Esq., and Samuel Taylor, Esq., were chosen to be presented to Lord Middleton, one of them to be pricked by him towards the being of this city's Mayor.

16th November. Major Taylor chosen Mayor.

11th November 1670. Mr Bland and Mr Nat. Wright elected. Bland chosen 30th November.

11th November 1671. Mr Staynes and Mr Mackmath elected. Staynes chosen 16th November.

11th November 1672. Mr Staynes and Mr Morgan Read elected. Staynes chosen 15th November.

however, not so easy to effect; the new Governor did what was possible to encourage trade, but the cause of poverty at Tangier was beyond his control. The soldiers were without money, and merchants had no security that debts contracted by them would ever be paid; prices consequently remained high in spite of the limitations imposed by order of the Common Council.

From the beginning the Government had attempted to regulate prices, and to prevent the sale of provisions above their market value. In 1663 it was ordered by proclamation that cattle and fresh flesh, fish and fruit should not be sold in Tangier except at the Market Cross, nor bought by any one before it had been publicly offered for sale there;[1] but such orders were often evaded, and, proclamations notwithstanding, prices varied according to the supply of provisions obtainable from Spain and Morocco.[2]

Much illness might have been avoided if the garrison could have lived, as the Portuguese had done, chiefly on fruit, herbs, fish and bread, their only meat being cattle bought or taken from the Moors; but want of money discouraged trade and local cultivation, and the garrison depended for food chiefly on rations supplied by contract by the "Victuallers" in England, which were as ill-suited to the climate as could well be imagined, consisting of salt beef and pork, pease, oatmeal, biscuit, cheese, and butter. Many of the stores were sent from Ireland, as these were said to be better, cheaper, and more easily transported,[3] but

[1] Sloane MSS., 3299, f. 88, 1st July 1663. Mutton not to be sold at more than 8d. per lb. Prices of wines fixed from 6d. to 9d. per quart.

In 1681 (24th December) the price of red wine was fixed at 4½d., instead of 6d. per quart. The price of pork was limited to 9d. per lb. by order in Council, 18th December 1668, but it was sold by several persons at 1/.

[2] Provisions brought in by Moors were much cheaper than those from Spain. The difference in prices was estimated as follows:—

	Morocco Prices.	Spanish Prices.
Bullock or Cow	7-8 dollars	30 dollars
Sheep	1 ,,	8 ,,
Hen	2d. or 3d.	¾ dollar
Corn per bushel	12d. to 16d.	2 dollars
		Hog . 10 ,,

—Howard's Report, 4th December 1669 (S.P. Morocco, 13, 789).

[3] Povey's Report, 4th May 1662 (C.O. 279, 1, 116). A vessel sent from Ireland (misprinted Iceland) with corn for Tangier (Cal. S.P. Dom., 10th December 1666, p. 335).

the Governor of Tangier in 1682 protested against the provision of Irish meat, which, he said, was not cured to last six months, and if salted as much as English beef became too dry and hard. He added that as much as 23,972 lbs. of beef and pork in the navy stores at Tangier was so bad that it had to be cast into the sea.

In the summer of 1669 Captain Charles O'Brien of the *Leopard*, in making a survey of the King's stores at Leghorn, found 127 casks of beef and pork which had lain there three years, the contents of which were "just eatable." These he shipped off to Tangier "to prevent waste"; but even the Tangier garrison refused to accept an allowance of meat of which 4 lbs. raw boiled down to 1 lb., and the Governor insisted on shipping it off again. Captain O'Brien then served out the three-year-old stores to his own men, but was obliged to give up the attempt after a week, finding that it caused "great grumbling and almost a mutiny."[1]

The stores sent from England or Ireland were sometimes little better than these, and were very uncertain in arrival.

"As to provisions I must agayne and agayne complayne in a high degree," wrote Middleton to the Lords Commissioners in February 1672; "wee justly feare being reduced to the greatest extremity. . . . Sir Dennis (Gauden's) agents refuse to draw bills on him for what money I advance, except I will oblidge myself not to trouble them in case of non-payment."[2]

[1] Captain Ch. O'Brien to the Navy Commissioners, 4th April and 29th July 1669 (Cal. S.P. Dom., pp. 264, 431).

[2] The contract for victualling the garrison at Tangier was given to Sir Dennis Gauden, victualler for the Navy. In June 1677 he writes: "I have lately agreed with my partners that are concerned with me in victualling H.M.'s Navy, to be equally concerned with me in the victualling of H.M.'s garrison of Tangier" (D. Gauden, from the Victualling Office, to the Earl of Anglesey, Lord Privy Seal, apologising for delay in sending Tangier stores, 5th June 1677. Brit. Mus. Add. MSS., 17021, f. 34. Papers relating to Tangiers).

John Luke, Secretary to Lord Middleton, observed: "Mr Wollaston and I had a greate deale of discourse concerning the victualling, which comes to at least about £13,000 p^r Ann. out of which there may be gained at least £3,000 per Ann. viz by ye 2 ounces in ye pound, by what provisions are bought by ye officers, and what might be gained all though neither of these two were allowed" (John Luke's Journal, 29th January 1670/1; Add. MSS., 36528).

A usual practice at the time was to serve out soldiers' rations at 14 oz. to the lb., instead of 16 oz. (Walton, "British Standing Army," p. 696).

A year later he wrote again :—

"I found the beife soe extreamely badd . . . that nothing but the utmost necessity could have induced my consent that it should be delivered out, especially when I found great sicknesse creeping amongst our people which the Phisitian . . . did ascribe chiefly to the badnesse of our provisions."[1]

Yet, while the garrison and townspeople were reduced to illness, and sometimes almost to starvation, plenty of fresh provisions could have been obtained, had not the interests of the victuallers at home been allowed to prevail over those of Tangier. The merchants informed Lord Middleton in 1673 that they had lately had trade with the Moors to the extent of £10,000 sterling, and could have much more "if there was but money stirring"; and Middleton, reporting on the capture of two Dutch prizes brought into the harbour in 1672, laden with oranges and lemons and salt, lamented that he could not sell the goods because no one in Tangier had any money or credit.

He wrote that he was expecting some English merchants from Spain to come over, but feared they would soon leave again, "when they find us nothing more than a starving garrison."

Sir Hugh Cholmley pointed out with characteristic good sense the folly of a system which sent expensive, unsuitable and stale provisions to the garrison, when a little ready money in circulation would have insured a thriving trade with Morocco and Spain. He wrote in 1671 :—

"The late fleet has well recruited our Publicke stores, which were before (as it often happens) verry bare of provisions, yet there can be no want of meat when there is not of money, the merkets being supplyed with good mutton and beef at about 4¼d. the pound, and excellent French clarrett bought under 3d. the quart, this with the advantage the gardens do now afford is conceived what may occasion the present good health of the place, which makes me wish the soldiers had money instead of the provisions allowed, because they would find a better food at as easy rates, and the town upon this expectation would never be without large quantitys

[1] Middleton to the Lords Commissioners, 5th February 1672/3 (C.O. 279, 16, f. 287).

of eatable stores, whereas the present contract with the victualer, by disappointing the merket, hinders the endevour of the trader, and does besides depend itselfe on so many chances, as subject the garrison verry frequently to the danger of being starved."[1]

Middleton complained over and over again to the Commissioners of the arrears of pay, which by January 1673 amounted to over two years. The Commissioners made spasmodic efforts to send "credits" for the sums due, and assured the Governor that "his Majesty expressed himselfe very sensible of the necessary hardships that have lately been upon you," but no more than partial payments of the debt could be made.[2] Affairs at home were more pressing than the supply of Tangier, and the garrison had to suffer accordingly.

In the spring of 1672 war with the Dutch again made the first claim on the treasury of Charles II., and the pro-

[1] Sir H. Cholmley (to Sir Joseph Williamson?), 14th August 1671 (C.O. 279, 14, f. 120).

[2] C.O. 279, 14, ff. 234, 243. Mr St John sent with credits for £12,200 at Cadiz. Middleton to Arlington, 2/12th April 1671.

"If their Lordships had thought fit to allow the drawing of bills from hence at the price his Majty payes for the ps of 8, the Garrison had beene paid off before the end of October."

Ibid., 15, f. 56. 19th February 1671/2. Middleton to Lords Commissioners. "In dec. last I returned my acknowledgement for your Lordshipps kyndnesse expressed in the credit for tenne thousand pounds remitted by Mr Pepys to Cadiz," leaving still more than 16 months' arrears.

Ibid., 16, f. 288. February 1672/3. Middleton to Lords Commissioners. On leaving England he received "credditts for £1300 with which and other money and some bills I drew on your Lordshipps Treasurer, I enabled Col. Norwood to compleat a years' pay," ending 2nd August 1669 inclusive.

Sloane MSS., 3299, f. 124. Commissioners to Middleton, 10th October 1673. Apologies for inconveniences caused by their neglect, "though divers considble sums have been paid here and bills sent to Cadiz, yet by some unhappiness it seems the money hath not been made good at Tangier in due time." They are sending Captain Lesley express to Cadiz with duplicates of all the bills of exchange that he may get the money in a readiness. The bills are made payable to Mr St John, treasurer's agent. They enclose particulars of the sums and bills, with the times, sent since December last.

Ibid., f. 113. Same to same, 24th October 1673. "Notwithstanding the generall prohibition of ye drawing money upon us yet in case of any pressing and important necessitie we doe think fit to allow and authorize that yor Lopp draw on us any sumes not exceeding the vallue of five thousand pounds. And if there should be any such occasion, we shall take great care that your Lopps bills bee well complyed with. (*Signed*) Rupert P., Craven (?) Anglesey, Tho. Povey, S. Pepys,"

vision ships for Tangier found their route "infested by Dutch capers." The *Nonsuch* was told off to remain in attendance on Tangier at the Governor's disposal, to convoy ships through the Straits, and the *Dover* and *Phœnix* were stationed at the mouth of the Straits with orders to carry to Tangier any Dutch prizes that might be taken, and also to operate against the Salli ships and assist the King's subjects, and in 1673 the *Monmouth* and *Tiger* were stationed at Tangier, the latter with orders to wait on the garrison.[1]

In this war Tangier was in little or no danger of actual attack, for the Dutch had now to contend against the combined forces of England and France.

By the Treaty of Dover, in 1670, Charles had promised to support the policy of Louis XIV. in return for much-needed subsidies, and England was now an auxiliary to the French schemes of conquest in the Netherlands.

The army of Louis XIV. was the finest in Europe at the time, and the strength and efficiency of his navy was also much increased; he was jealous of the reputation of English naval commanders in the Mediterranean, and eager to establish the supremacy of the French in that sea. Charles, however, in spite of his subservience to Louis, still made an effort to maintain his own naval power, and the possession of Tangier helped to uphold his prestige in the Mediterranean. The main actions of this war had little direct effect on the history of Tangier, but privateers were again commissioned there "for the apprehending, seising, and takeing the shipps, vessels, and goods belonging to the States of the United Provinces,"[2] and several Dutch prizes were taken. In May 1672, an expedition was made by Middleton's orders against some Dutch ships in the Road of Malaga, in which the *Nonsuch*, *Roebuck*, *Seville*, *Vine*, and *Jason* (privateer) burnt one ship, sank another, ran two ashore, and took in two to Tangier; in the following year a few vessels were captured near Tangier by both sides. The war, however, was not of long duration; the alliance

[1] Cal. S.P. Dom., 18th February 1672, p. 145; 7th July 1672, p. 318; 8th February 1673, p. 555; 20/30th May 1673, p. 277.

[2] Proclamation by Middleton, Upper Castle of Tangier, 22nd May 1672 (Sloane MSS., 3299, f. 126).

with France was unpopular with the English, who began to feel that their common interests with the Dutch now outweighed commercial jealousy. The King himself was not unwilling for peace after the restoration of the House of Orange; in February, 1674, England withdrew from the war, and Tangier was left with little fear of foreign molestation.

TANGIER FROM THE KASBAH (FROM A MODERN PHOTOGRAPH).

[*To face p.* 132.

CHAPTER VIII

THE PIRATES OF ALGIERS, 1667-1679

WHILE critics at home were beginning to murmur at the expense of maintaining a garrison at Tangier, the friends of the place were able to point to the assistance it gave to English naval commanders in their dealings with the pirates of Salli and Algiers.

The need of a naval station to safeguard English trade in the Mediterranean against the depredations of the Barbary corsairs was more than ever felt after 1669, when the long siege of Candia ended in the capitulation of the Venetians and the victory of the Turks—a victory which was regarded by the whole Moslem world as a triumph over Christendom, and which set free many a mercenary from the Turkish fleet to take service in the pirate vessels of the Barbary States.

Algiers especially was stirred to greater activity by this triumph of the Turk, and was ready to embark on fresh enterprises against the Christians. It was part of the pirate policy not to be at peace with more than one, or at most two, European kingdoms at the same time, and the Algerians soon grew tired of keeping the treaty made with England in 1664, and tried to find a cause of quarrel in every action of the Governor of Tangier, or of the English commanders in the Mediterranean.[1]

The government of Algiers, nominally conducted by a Turkish pasha sent by the Porte, was at this time actually

[1] Admiral Sir Thos. Allin was succeeded by Sir Edward Spragge as Commander-in-Chief in the Mediterranean in 1670. Laird Clowes, *op. cit.*, ii. 438.

in the hands of a number of Janissaries, who in 1671 elected one of their own number as Dey.[1]

This government still claimed the right to prescribe the style of passes to be carried by English merchant ships, and to limit the number of foreign seamen in their crews, and maintained the right to search all vessels on the high seas for contraband of war. The pirates were, of course, unable to read English, and were thus provided with a convenient difficulty in knowing whether a ship's papers were in order or not. New English passes were exhibited at a public Divan, but several ships returning from distant voyages, whose captains had not heard of the new regulations, were taken in time of peace.

While frequently breaking the treaty themselves, the Algerians had many complaints to make of the English. They asserted that they had been refused water for their ships at Tangier, contrary to the promise of the Governor, and complained that many English vessels carried and protected seamen belonging to nations with which Algiers was at war, and who were accordingly regarded as lawful prize. Colonel Norwood, however, said that this last complaint was merely an excuse to cover the capture and sale of the crews of English ships, from which Englishmen and foreigners alike were taken.

When Ghaïlán broke in at the meeting of the Divan at Algiers in 1668, with his lead-filled treasure-chest, these points were in process of discussion. Allin's envoys demanded the liberation of all British subjects, reparation for the capture and sale of two ships (one English and one Irish), and the liberation of certain Tarragonines and Spaniards taken out of vessels sailing under the English flag. By means of many stormy interviews and discreetly distributed presents, Allin succeeded in wresting a few concessions from the Divan. It was agreed that the ship from Spain taking provisions for Tangier should not be seized. All the English prisoners were released except one, and those belonging to Tangier were brought back by Allin in the *Providence* fire-ship; but the release of the Spanish captives was refused, and no reparation obtained

[1] Playfair, "The Scourge of Christendom,

for the captured ships.[1] It appears that the complaints made by the pirates were not always unfounded. A letter from Colonel Norwood to Sir Thomas Allin shows that they were occasionally paid back in their own coin.

Allin, having received orders to insist on satisfaction from Algiers on several points, and either to make a new treaty or "break with them" altogether,[2] thought it would lend weight to his arguments if he could arrive with a prize-ship in his train; and Norwood, who was keeping a watch on the movements of the corsairs, having tried to detain one for him at Tangier, wrote to him on 25th August 1669:—

"DEARE TOM,—Hoping your good health and *embonpoint* wil carry you through and above the designe of your enemy the Turk, I may not forbeare by this occasion to tell you how neere you were to a good turne yesterday the 24th current, and how trivially disappointed as you shall see. His Exᶜʸ My Lord Ambassadour [Howard] being pleased to honour Major Fairborne yesterday with his company at dinner, in the midst of that good work we saw by other eyes a sayle from the West bound for this harbour, which in few minutes appeared to be a Turk. His Exᶜʸ and myself had fresh in mind the licking of your lippes upon notice of the Algerine wee could probably have stopped some time before (but darst not without order). Whereupon wee consulted all present meanes to serve the publique in this instance which wee thought might probably facilitate the work you goe upon. . . . In the interim the Turk came to an anchor with the Levant as winderly as possible and in most courteous manner saluted the town with three guns, and was answered with one."

Colonel Norwood then goes on to relate at length that the "Turk," being in much need of water, sent her boat to the Mole, and meanwhile the Governor ordered out Captain Foules in the ketch with ten files of musketeers [illegible] in the man-of-war, that she might be detained in the harbour. Captain Foules, in an excess of zeal, fired

[1] Playfair, "Scourge of Christendom," pp. 95-98. "They would not yield to release [illegible] ome, whom they sold for 700 pieces of 8."

[2] James, "Memoirs of Naval Affairs," p. 159. Playfair, *op. cit.*, p. 99.

a shot at the Turk as a signal to her to come in and speak to him; whereupon, in alarm, she took to flight, and though the ketch gave chase it was "too foul and leaky" to overtake her, and only the boat was detained. Colonel Norwood then continues:—

"Our designe to have inveigled them ashore according to their necessityes of water and provision for many mouthes by reason of a Dutch prize of canary (whose cargo and men were then aboard) was totally made frustrate by this unhappy precipitation."[1]

There was some excuse for an attempt to meet guile with guile, for the corsairs were constantly exasperating the English admirals by evading the treaties arranged with so much trouble. Allin said that the difficulty of keeping peace with Algiers "made him grey-headed"; and Lawson, who preceded him, was of opinion that the Algerines were the most treacherous people in that part of the world, and grew more perfidious every day. He said, truly enough, "till it please God they feel some smart, no peace can be made with them but what is worse than war."[2]

The situation was summed up by the author of *The Streights Voyage* in his narrative of the expeditions of 1669-1671 "'gainst barbarous crew of Turkish pirates

> "The Turks they sooth us up with treaty,
> They smooth us up most fine and neatly,
> Till they have brought about their ends,
> And then they care not to be friends."[3]

The truth was that the rulers of the pirate cities conceded treaties without having either the intention or the power of keeping them. The same process was followed by all the commanders of naval expeditions, whether English, French or Dutch. They arrived with their squadron before the city whose corsairs had of late been too troublesome to be borne; they then bombarded the town for some days, and at night left boats along shore to pick up escaped European slaves,

[1] Norwood to Allin (copy), 25th August 1669 (S.P. Morocco, pp. 13, 643).
[2] Lawson to Fanshaw, 28th March 1664 (Heathcote MSS., Report, p. 148).
[3] John Balthorpe, *The Streights Voyage, or St David's Poem.*

until the people of the place threatened to revolt against their government if the foreign fleet were not sent away, and the Dey or Pacha, fearing to lose his head at the hands of the mob, consented to open negotiations. After wearisome discussions, he would concede a treaty of pretended peace, then, as soon as the bombarding fleet had sailed beyond the horizon, out came the corsairs once more, ready to raid and plunder as before, and all the more eagerly for their enforced idleness.[1]

By the middle of the seventeenth century the famous galleys of Algiers, manned sometimes by two hundred rowers, were giving place to sailing vessels. In 1634 the Père Dan estimated the fleet of Algiers at seventy ships; towards the end of the century their numbers decreased, but there were still more than enough to make the life of the merchant seaman full of danger.

Most of these vessels were the property of private owners, and were manned either by slaves or volunteers. The latter, at the outset of a cruise, were engaged by the owner under a banner set up on the quay, and were armed each with a musket and a scimitar or a cutlass.

The green banner of Algiers, thickly sown with silver stars and crescents, floated over the ship as she left the harbour; but, when the open sea was gained, the flag of some Christian State was run up in its stead. As soon as a merchant ship was sighted the privateer gave chase, and very often boarded his prize without meeting any resistance. Sometimes, however, a merchantman would show fight, and the pirates found it necessary to join forces in order to overpower her, as when the *King David*, on her way from Newfoundland to Tangier, laden with masts, planks, and victuals, was boarded off Cape St Vincent by seventy pirates of "Argier," all of whom were killed by the English crew. The *King David* was then attacked and taken by five pirate

[1] H. de Grammont, "*Etudes Algériennes*" "Revue historique," xxv. 341. "Après de longues tergiversations ils feignaient de consentir à se laisser arracher un traité, qui était toujours violé dès le lendemain du départ de la flotte. . . . Le tort des gouvernements Européens fut de ne rien comprendre à la situation intérieur d'Alger, et de considérer les pachas on les deys comme des souverains alors qu'ils n'avaient aucun pouvoir effectif."

ships, but was re-taken by Rear-Admiral Kempthorne, who, however, was soon afterwards forced to abandon her to six more corsairs, from whom she was finally rescued by Sir Thomas Allin.[1]

When it happened that a prize was secured, as quickly as possible the corsairs sailed for home, and, with green banner again flying, triumphantly entered the harbour, to be greeted with a salute of guns and shouts of congratulation. All the spoils, including the prisoners in chains, had to be taken before the Palace gate, where all was sold at auction, the Dey having the right of pre-emption of one slave out of eight; twelve per cent. of the value of the goods sold also fell to his share, one per cent. was assigned to the upkeep of the harbour, and one per cent. to the mosques; the rest was divided between the owners and crews of the successful ships.

It was indeed vain to hope that the Regency of Algiers would attempt to discourage the piracy which was practically the sole source of revenue of the city, and the only industry of its people. A treaty might be made, and after a fashion kept, with one European State at a time, but only so long as the navy of that State happened to be strong enough to enforce its treaty-rights and protect its commerce by the constant presence of ships of war. It was as unthinkable that Algiers and Salli, Tunis and Tripoli, should give up piracy of their own accord as it was that England should give up commerce. To each of these towns piracy was the very foundation and bulwark of the State, the only means by which its prosperity was upheld—the only trade to which its people were trained. Without it they had no prospect but that of a miserable existence of semi-starvation in a land which they hardly knew how to cultivate, and in which the ordinary practices of trade, industry, and manufacture were all but unknown.

The glory of the pirates passed with the growth of the navies of Europe, but, though the days of the Barbarossas, of Dragut Reis, and of Ochiali were no more, in piracy there was still to be found by the Moslem honour as well as riches.

[1] Cal. S.P. Dom., p. 421, 1672, February and April; and Acts of Privy Council, Col. Series, p. 885, 1672.

It could still be considered a Djéhád, or Holy War, against the Christian, in which he who met death was sure of a passport to Paradise, while even sea-sickness, suffered in pursuit of the Infidel, was seriously regarded as a step on the heavenward road.

As sailing-vessels gradually replaced the galleys of the pirates, their captives were no longer always put to the terrible toil of the oar. They were now more often sold up country, where their lot was perhaps easier, but their redemption was harder to effect. It was agreed by most treaties of peace that all English slaves in the country should be ransomed for the price first paid for them in the public market, when they were sold by auction on coming into port; but it was often difficult to trace them after a time, for private owners of skilled workmen were unwilling to part with valuable property, even at a profit on its original cost, and it was easy for them to falsify books of sale, and to hide their captives from the would-be redemptionists.

The raising of a fund for the redemption of English slaves was in 1662 recommended by the King to the "Lords Bishops of the Kingdom," and they at once collected a sum of £4,000, Dr Bargrave and the Rev. J. Sellecke, Archdeacon of Bath, being deputed to administer the fund. Later on, the Government made a grant of £20,000, to be administered by "the Lords of the Committee for the Redemption of Captives," and it was directed that a bounty of £40 a head should be allowed for those whose friends could collect the remainder of the sum necessary to buy their freedom.[1] This State grant was supplemented by voluntary subscriptions, and more than once a collection was made in the Mediterranean squadron, when the seamen contributed liberally to the ransom of former comrades. The friends and families of captives sometimes sold all their possessions in order to raise the necessary sums.

The actual work of negotiating redemptions was carried on by the English Consul at Algiers, or by merchants who consented to become agents for the purpose. Foremost among the latter was William Bowtell, who, with Lionel Croft, redeemed three hundred and ninety-one captives, and

[1] Playfair, *op. cit.*, pp. 85, 126, 129-133.

spent seven dangerous years in Algiers in the achievement of the work. He had great difficulty in recovering his advances, and often lost large sums which he generously risked, rather than miss opportunities of redeeming slaves whose owners refused to part with one, unless all were ransomed at once. Among those who owed their liberty to him was Captain Spurrill, who was taken while carrying provisions to the garrison of Tangier, and who was redeemed for £400 after nine years' captivity.

English consuls in the pirate cities lived in constant danger. When the corsairs brought in a party of English people taken on board an enemy's ship, it was the duty of the Consul to attend the auction at which they were sold, and to negotiate the release of any who could prove themselves to have been merely passengers. Any mistake on his part, or any grievance, real or imaginary, which the pirates might raise against the captains of English ships, or against the Governor of Tangier, had to be smoothed over by the most careful diplomacy, on pain of a popular riot which was very likely to end in the murder of the Consul, unless the Government protected him by rigorous imprisonment. The post of Consul at Algiers was held from 1667 to 1674 by John Ward, who, after many vicissitudes, was cut to pieces by an angry mob in front of the palace. The Dey, an old man who had little influence, was unable or unwilling to restrain the rioters, and his wife, "a cunning, covetous English woman, who would sell her soul for a bribe," in whose hands the chief power was said to lie, appears to have done nothing to save the Consul from his fate.[1]

While galleys were still used in the Mediterranean, slavery was practised, as a matter of course, by Europeans as well as Mohammedans, for it was impossible to obtain volunteers for the rowers' bench. Two galleys were built at Leghorn in 1671-1672 for use at Tangier "against the common enemy of Christendom," and Sir Jean Baptiste Duteil, who superintended the work, sent proposals to Lord Arlington for the purchase of slaves to man them.[2] It was usual to

[1] Playfair, pp. 113, 121. No official record of this appears, but it is alluded to in contemporary letters.

[2] Cal. S. P. Dom., p. 351, August 1671.

employ prisoners taken from pirate ships, but there was some difficulty in finding rowers for the Tangier galleys, which required forty or fifty each. It was proposed to send condemned criminals from England for the purpose, as this would "save the lives of many poor Christians, and clear the country of such idle people."[1] English convicts, however, petitioned against being sent to the galleys, and slaves were finally bought in October 1672 at Malta, where the Chevalier de Princourt and M. Bardou, commissioned by the Kings of England and France respectively to buy slaves for their galleys, arranged to buy all slaves in common at a price agreed between them, and then to draw lots, "and he who wins is to choose a slave first, and then the other is to choose, and so alternately to the end." At the same time Duteil was negotiating with private persons at Malta, but found there were few slaves to be had, "though forty corsairs were out." Still, he hoped to have both galleys ready for sea, with oars and sails, by the spring of 1673.[2] "A list of slaves belonging to his Maties Bagnio at Tang^r," dated 1677, contains seventy-nine names.[3] The galleys gave occasional support to the King's frigates in engagements with pirates near Tangier, but after about four years they were superseded by "galley-frigates," and the slaves were made over to Mr Shere, the engineer, for work on the Mole.[4]

Letters from Tangier constantly reiterated the need of frigates to repress piracy, and in 1670 the Duke of York drew up a scheme for the better disposal of the naval forces in the Mediterranean, and Sir Thomas Allin was again sent out, with a squadron of fourteen ships. He joined forces with four Dutch vessels under Admiral Van Ghent, and a considerable victory was won near Cape Spartel over a fleet of Algerine corsairs. Six of the enemy's ships were burnt with the help of the Christian slaves on

[1] Sir Gilbert Gerard to Williamson (Cal. S.P. Dom., p. 520, 23rd August 1672). Thos. Holden to Williamson (*ibid.*, p. 304, 31st August 1676).

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 16, 4/14th October.

[3] C.O. 279, 20, 135.

[4] Warrant to the Lords of the Admiralty (Cal. S.P. Dom., p. 455, 16th December 1676).

board them, two hundred and fifty of whom were rescued, including sixty-two Englishmen.[1]

In July 1670 Sir Edward Spragge was appointed to the command of the Mediterranean fleet,[2] and in the following year he succeeded in destroying another squadron of Algerine corsairs in Bougia Harbour, after cutting through a strong boom which lay across the entrance.[3] These victories resulted in a renewal of peace with Algiers, and increased the jealousy of Louis XIV., who wrote to the French Admiral off Tunis, expressing his discontent that the navy of France could show no corresponding success against the pirates.[4]

The good effect of the victories of Allin and Spragge in maintaining England's prestige in the Mediterranean was supplemented by the activity of the Tangerine privateers. Sir Hugh Cholmley reported that

"our Tangiers briggantines which are kept at little or no charge to his Majᵗʸ make a great noys with our neighbours, and are a mighty security to the trade of this part, and makes all things heer had plentifully and cheap." "Those of Terrifa," he adds, were encouraged by this example to fit out boats, "so that wee see not many Moorish embarcations, which cannot appear without much danger, having enemies on both sides . . . there is found in the books kept for the redemption of captives neer 500 lesse than what before were comonly wont to be taken within the same time."

The Spaniards of Tarifa avenged a Moorish raid on their town by sending an expedition to land at Cape Spartel,

[1] Playfair, "Scourge of Christendom," pp. 108, 109, 12th August 1670. Allin's ships were the *Mary* and *Revenge*, 3rd rate; *Bristol*, *Hampshire*, *Portsmouth*, *Dragon*, *Constant Warwick*, and *Nonsuch*, 4th rate; *Guernsey* and *Pearl*, 5th rate; *Little Victory* and *Welcome*, fire-ships; *Deptford* and *Portsmouth*, ketches. The Algerine ships were the *Flower-pot* (44 guns), the *Tiger* (44), *Leopard* (44), *Date-tree* (40), *Shepherdess* (38), *Golden Rose* (38).

[2] James II., "Memoirs of Naval Affairs," p. 202, 14th July 1670.

[3] Playfair, *op. cit.*, p. 111.

[4] "Lettres de Colbert," iii. i. 391. Louis XIV. to Comte d'Estrées. The French Ambassador in London was instructed to enquire into English methods of warfare against the Barbary pirates. *Cf.* "Lettres de Colbert," iii. i. 110. Colbert, to Colbert de Croissy, 10/20th March 1669: "Je serai bien aise de voir le mémoire que vous avez fait concernant la marine d'Angleterre, laquelle je vous prie de bien pénétrer, afin que nous puissions profiter de leur grande expérience en cette nature de guerre." *Cf.* Corbett, *op. cit.*, ii. 65, 70.

where they took thirty-seven prisoners, whom they carried to Tangier.

"The success," observed Cholmley, "may confirm that the safe way of making war with these infidels is . . . to meet them in their own way by surprise and ambush, or else by way of intrenchments and not otherways."[1]

No sooner were the Algerines reduced to peace in 1672, than trouble arose in another quarter, and Lord Middleton wrote:—

"The corsairs of Sally are very brisk abroad, and have lately taken 5 English vessels with 50 men in them, soe that now the number of captives is noe less than before the last redemption."[2]

The aggressions of the pirates of Salli, Algiers, and Tripoli continued to be so troublesome that Sir John Narborough, Commander-in-Chief in the Mediterranean in 1674, was ordered to take active measures to repress them.[3] The Admiral, "the wind coming contrary and blowing extreame hard," stood in for Tangier Bay at the end of November[4] until more favourable weather allowed him to sail for Algiers. After much negotiation, his commissioners succeeded in redeeming one hundred and eighty-nine English captives from the Algerines in January 1675, at the cost of 75,000 pieces of eight.[5] In 1675-1676 Narborough successfully blockaded Tripoli, and after Lieutenant Cloudesly

[1] Cholmley to Williamson, 3rd May 1671 (C.O. 279, 14, 206).

[2] Middleton to the Lords Commissioners, 10/20th July 1672 (C.O. 279, 15, 205).

[3] Captain John Narborough, knighted in October 1674, and appointed Commander-in-Chief in the Mediterranean. He sailed in the *Henrietta*, but afterwards transferred his flag to the *Hampshire*, was made Admiral of the Fleet in 1705 (Laird Clowes, *op. cit.*, ii. 232, 450).

[4] Rawl. MSS., C. 353, f. 25*b*, 24th November 1674. "An Itinerary of our Voyage . . . in H.M.S. *Maryrose*," etc. Narborough's ships in 5th January 1674/5 were the *Henrietta*, *Roebuck*, *Cambridge*, *Bristol*, *Drake*, *Maryrose*, *Dept ord* (ketch), *Newcastle*, *Success*, *Quaker* (ketch), *Guernsey* (Admiralty Secy.'s List Book, i., 30th October 1674 (P.R.O.)).

[5] Rawl. MSS., A. 215, f. 117. Sir J. Narborough's account of 75,000 ps. 8/8 received for the redemption of 189 English captives at Algiers. Playfair, *op. cit.*, p. 117, gives the sum spent as 56,248 p^{s} of 8. John Luke, from Tangier, was one of the commissioners for the redemption (Add. MSS., 19872, f. 15).

Shovell had attacked and destroyed the shipping in the harbour, the Admiral made a treaty with its government; he then returned to Tangier, and, at the request of the Governor, attempted to arrange a peace with Salli. This he failed to effect, but the presence of his cruisers soon reduced the Salletines to reason, and in the name of the Emperor Mulaï Ismâïl they signed a treaty arranged by Captain Lesley and Mr Bland, who were sent as commissioners from Tangier for the purpose.

England's sea power was thus fairly well maintained, and the entire supremacy of the French in the Mediterranean was prevented. Louis XIV., now engaged in war against the coalition of nearly the whole of Europe, was forced to insure the neutrality of England by agreeing to a commercial treaty exempting English ships from molestation by his cruisers, in spite of his protests that they were aiding the Dutch, and carrying contraband to the Spaniards in Italy.[1]

After the conclusion of peace with Salli, the chief business of Sir John Narborough's squadron was to carry on the war which again broke out with Algiers. His ships were provisioned, though sparingly, from the naval stores at Tangier, and during 1677 they had many encounters with the pirates. In September two Algerine men-of-war were taken, one of eighteen and one of twenty guns, and three prizes freighted with brandy, wine, iron, deal, and pitch. The *Sapphire* was almost disabled in the fight, and lost all her masts, but was rescued by the *Pearl*, and speedily refitted at Tangier. The *Woolwich*, on her way to Cadiz "in hopes to meet there with 100 barrels of beefe" for the Tangier store-house, met with and pursued five of the enemy's ships off Tarifa, but was outsailed, and, though "the *Woolage* captain thought himself cock-sure of one," she escaped him.[2]

In October the garrison of Tangier watched from the walls a hot fight between the *Portsmouth* frigate, 48 guns, and a man-of-war of 38 guns, whose escape was cut off by the *Charles* and *James* galleys belonging to Tangier. The pirate captain, "a renegado of Lubick," fought desperately, "having instructed his Turks in the Dutch way of fighting,"

[1] Corbett, *op. cit.*, ii. 99.

[2] Fairborne to Williamson, Tangier, 22nd September 1677 (C.O. 279, 21).

with a cask of brandy lashed to the mainmast, and most of the crew drunk. No quarter was given, and about one hundred and fifty of the enemy were killed; the English casualties were thirty killed and forty wounded.[1]

In the same month a serious loss was incurred by the capture of the *Phœnix*, who was outsailed and taken by the enemy as she was bringing provisions for Tangier, having on board twenty-eight men and three women as passengers, all of whom were made prisoners. Captain Bolland, a naval officer serving in the Mole office at Tangier, reported to the Navy Commissioners that the victuallers employed such small vessels that they could not keep with their escort; three or four ketches and provision ships, as well as fourteen vessels from Newfoundland were lost, in spite of the vigilance of the frigates. Most of the provision ships, however, came safely through the Straits, and the enemy suffered many losses. One "Turk's prize, loaded with canary," taken into Tangier Bay, was lost again through sheer negligence. It was left for the night in charge of a guard,

"but," wrote Colonel Fairborne, "I am afraid they had got some of the canary (the Capt being ashore) and the enemy got on deck and killed the guard and escaped with the sloop, which they ran ashore on the rocks past Jews River, 36 slaves destined to be sold at Cadiz being also on board."[2]

In March 1678 the *Assistance* and *Foresight* were stationed at Tangier, and later in the summer the reputation of the English squadron was so high that most of the Algerines retired to their harbour, and lay "confined to theire mole, and only sculked abroad in Small vessels." The comparative quiet lasted only a short time, and by 1680 Algerines and Salli-men were ready to give plenty of occupation to Vice-Admiral Herbert, who succeeded Narborough as Commander-in-Chief in the Mediterranean.[3]

[1] Shere to Williamson, Tangier, 10th October 1677 (C.O. 279, 21, 113). *Cf.* Laird Clowes, *op. cit.*, ii. 452.

[2] Fairborne to Williamson, 11th February 1677/8 (C.O. 279, 22, 69).

[3] Captain Arthur Herbert. Held local rank as Vice-Admiral, and was commissioned as Commander-in-Chief of the Station, 17th July 1680. Laird Clowes, *op. cit.*, ii. 454.

CHAPTER IX

LORD INCHIQUIN AND SIR PALMES FAIRBORNE, 1675-1679

FEW events of importance marked the last years of Lord Middleton's administration; he was a moderately capable Governor, but his earlier distinguished career promised greater things than he achieved at Tangier. It is said that his character deteriorated in his later years owing to habitual intemperance. According to one account, his death was due to a fall met with in a fit of intoxication,[1] but "G. P.," who is usually well informed, relates that he fell ill "of a flux" in the night, and in trying to find a candle fell over his servant who was sleeping across his threshold, broke his arm at the shoulder, and died from the effects a few days afterwards, early in 1674.

Middleton was followed by Lord Inchiquin,[2] who was appointed Governor of Tangier in March 1675, and held the post till 1680. Colonel Alsop and Sir Palmes Fairborne were jointly commissioned as Deputy-Governors in May 1676, but the duties of the position devolved entirely upon

[1] "Dictionary of National Biography"—The year of Middleton's death is here given as 1673. The official report does not appear to be among the State Papers, but a letter from Colonel Alsop to the Lords Commissioners, dated 10th August 1674 (C.O. 279, 16, 58), alludes to the death of Middleton as a recent event. *Cf.* "G. P.," "Present State of Tangier," 1676; Davis, *op. cit.*, i. 108.

[2] William O'Brien, second Earl of Inchiquin (1638 ?)-1692). Most of his early life was spent with his father ("Murrough of the Burnings") in foreign military service in France or Spain. In 1659-1660 he went with his father to Lisbon with a French force, to help the Portuguese against the Spaniards, but was taken prisoner by Algerine corsairs near the Tagus. Inchiquin (then Lord O'Brien) lost an eye in the fight, and remained a prisoner in Algiers for a year, when he was ransomed for 7,500 crowns (Playfair, "Scourge of Christendom," p. 79). 1675-1680, Governor of Tangier. Supported William of Orange, 1688. Appointed Governor of Jamaica, and died there after sixteen months, 1691/2 ("Dictionary of National Biography").

1 Catharine Port,
2 The Irish Battery.
Prospect of ye lower part of Tangier, from the hill West of White-hall
Sold at the White Horse without Newgate,
3 The head Court of Guard,
W. Hollar delin: 4 The Bay,

1. Catherine Port.
2. The Irish Battery.

THE LOWER PART OF TANGIER FROM THE HILL WEST OF WHITEHALL.
BY WENCESLAUS HOLLAR.

3. The Head Court of Guard.
4. The Bay.

[*To face p.* 146.

the latter, owing to the ill-health of "honest old Colonel Alsop, who," says "G.P.," "if his legs were answerable to his heart, would give convincing testimonies of his great worthiness," and whose death in November — in such poverty that his widow had "hardly bread to eat"—left Fairborne in sole command whenever Lord Inchiquin was absent.

The appointment of a new Governor was the signal for a fresh attempt on the part of the Commissioners to set the trade and prosperity of Tangier on a firmer footing. They had already written to the Mayor, Recorder, and Aldermen, complaining that they had not received accounts of their proceedings, and demanding monthly reports and accounts concerning the customs, rents, fines, etc. On Inchiquin's departure from England, Orders in Council were issued to regulate the powers of the civil and mercantile courts, the excise, and other minor matters. The Governor was instructed to see that foreigners were not deprived of their due privileges, for it was found that the Mayor and Corporation had forbidden foreign residents at Tangier to sell goods at retail, and had tried to prevent their voting at the election of the Mayor and Aldermen. The Corporation was found to be growing too independent, and it was more than once sharply censured for disobedience to orders from home, and for a disrespectful tone noted in its replies to the instructions of the Commissioners.

The new form of government had little effect in inducing "men of credit" to settle at Tangier. At times an influx of French trade and some Dutch and Genoese business brought temporary prosperity, but on the whole the Lords Commissioners were disappointed by the poverty of the local revenues, to which they had looked to relieve the overburdened exchequer of the King.

Inchiquin attributed all mismanagement to "the distemper of this poore Corporation," and the slackness of trade to the system of monopolies. Some Genoese merchants, who had paper-mills, and would have made Tangier their warehouse for Spain, were unable to do so because "certain persons" had obtained the monopoly of "paper introduction," and Inchiquin said he had friends

at St Malo and Bordeaux who would do much trade with Tangier,

"but those of St Maloes doe plainly tell me that they will never have to do with this place while Mr Bland has al the factories of Spain and they of Marseilles say the same."[1]

Mr Bland had a different reason to give to account for the prevailing poverty. He was a merchant of considerable experience, and had made many useful suggestions to the advantage of trade. It was a grievance to him that he could not have a free hand in the disposal of the revenues which he saw wasted by the military governors.

"Except his Majestie resolve to make the civill power so eminent as no way to be chequed by the military, Tang^r^ will never produce worthy men to live therein," he wrote: "Never place could come into a trading nations hands fitter to be the Magazin of the knowne world than this, if so bee that honest men had encouradgement, knaves punished and Govern^ors^ sent that would permit his Majesties interest as well as their owne."

In another letter he says:—

"Wee are a strange Generation gott together here, all stryving to get from his Majestie but none mindeing rightly his Majesties service."[2]

Mutual accusations poured in from the officials at Tangier to the Secretary of State and the Lords Commissioners; it was not easy to ascertain where the fault lay, and the Commissioners relieved their feelings by issuing reprimands to the civil and military authorities in turn. The Governor himself got into trouble by allowing his secretary to buy up the goods from prize ships, which should have been put up for public sale, and sell them out again at a high profit.

The position of Tangier as a trading station, though far from fulfilling early prophecies, was yet by no means hopeless.

The proclamation of a "Free Port," though often disregarded, brought a number of trading ships to the harbour,

[1] Inchiquin to Williamson, 17th March 1676 (C.O. 279, 18, 241).

[2] John Bland to Williamson, 12th March and 28th September 1675 (C.O. 279, 17).

the only charge as a rule being a nominal duty of a quarter per cent. on all goods landed, to cover the cost of storage and protection. From 1676-1678 the number of vessels coming to the harbour steadily increased, especially during the summer months; 134 vessels paid anchorage fees in 1676, 150 in 1677, 161 in 1678.[1]

[1] Rawl. MSS., D, 794. Phineas Bowles' Accompt of Anchorage in this his Majtiss port of Tanger.

RATES OF PAYMENT

	s.	d.
Barcolongo	4	6
Gavarra	9	0
Tartan	9	0
Seytia	13	6
Shipp	18	0

1676—January. Vessels, 12; Anchorage, £4, 9s. 6d.

15th June—Totall of this six monthes Anchorage for 80 Imbarcations amounting to £25, 19s. 0d.

	Imbarcations.	Anchorage. £	s.	d.
1676—1st July-29th December	54	16	8	6
1677—				
3rd January-25th June	86	27	18	0
July-December	64	17	4	3
1678—				
January-March (inclusive)	47	15	1	6
April-June ,,	33	12	0	9
July-September ,,	51	13	7	9
October-December ,,	33	15	1	6
1679—				
January-March	27	12	16	6
April-June	36	15	17	3
July-September	52	18	18	0
October-December	32	11	0	6
1680—				
January-March	26	12	3	0
April-June	29	10	7	0
July-September	16	8	11	0
October-December*	12	5	0	0
1681—				
January-March	12	6	6	0
April	6	2	5	0
May	5	2	18	0
June	11	6	6	0
July	5	1	7	0
August	12	6	6	0
September	6	3	7	6
October	4	2	6	0
(November omitted)				
December	5	3	3	0

* Time of war.

Every ship's master, on arrival, had to send to the Customs' House to give an account of his ship and her cargo, and orders were given to the Customs and Health Officers to enter all vessels and merchandise in the Customs' books. No one was allowed to go on board any ship arriving in the bay until the appointed officer had inspected her, no stranger might stay a night in the town without notifying the authorities, and two days' notice had to be given of a ship's departure from the port. This last regulation was said to keep many ships away, and indeed it was impossible to comply with it, as a sudden change of wind often necessitated a hurried setting sail, to avoid the risk of many days' delay.

The post of pratique master was an important one,[1] and the strict enforcement of health regulations very necessary, for they were the only defence of the place against the black shadow of the plague which hung over the whole coast of Morocco and threatened to envelop Tangier in hopeless ruin.

"The plague creepes along the coast and has got as farre as Algier," wrote Henry Shere in the summer of 1676, "I pray God secure us against it, for should wee chance to be Infected, our condition would be most desperate."

Once it was rumoured in Spain that the dreaded plague had forced an entrance among the Tangier garrison, and John Bland wrote home complaining

"how dirtily the Spaniard treats us, refusing our Imbarcations Pratiqz under a notion of sicknesse which wee are as free from as any people . . . but that People never loved our rootinge in Tanger, being just Moores in nature."

Sir Palmes Fairborne for once succeeded in awakening the Corporation to the necessity for action, and the severe enforcement of pratique laws checked a certain amount of trade with ships coming from infected ports,[2] but in time

[1] This post was held for some years by Carlos Soltrany, who was superseded by Captain Richard Senhouse in 1681, on suspicion of dishonesty.

[2] *E.g.*, one Paulo Geronimo Franzone, merchant at Genoa, had a correspondent at Tangier to whom he shipped a quantity of thread lace on board H.M. frigate *Swallow*, in 1675, but was refused pratique (Cal. of Treasury Books, iv. 772-773, 2nd July 1675).

had the effect of reassuring the Spaniards, from whom the Tangerines bought lime, bricks, tiles, and straw, as well as food.[1] In August 1677 Fairborne obtained free commerce to all Spanish ports, though, in order to preserve his credit with them, he was forced to refuse entrance to Moorish goods intended for export, sent in from Alcazar, and only allowed the Moors to buy what they needed at the lines for money. Two hundred quintalls of wax sent in by the Moors were, however, accepted, after they had lain twelve hours in water, according to an old custom, "as the Portugall fathers said was done 25 years ago."

A good deal of trade was carried on between Tangier and Spain by French merchants, though their business was hindered by the excessive duties imposed in Spanish ports, especially in Cadiz, where the English Consul, until he was forbidden by an Order in Council, combined with Spanish officials to exact heavy dues on goods carried in English ships.[2]

Some increase of this trade was brought about in 1677 by the banishment of French merchants from Cadiz, forty of whom transferred their business to Tangier. They found the place also a safe and convenient base for the importation, from St Malo and elsewhere, of French linen, for which there was a good and growing demand among the Moors.

Turkish and Armenian merchants, bringing goods from Smyrna, also passed through Tangier on their way to Fez, and would sometimes spread their wares on the sands, hoping to do a little business by the way.

A certain amount of trade was carried on with Barbados and other colonies, though ships from the "Plantations" were not supposed to unload at Tangier without a special permit from the Customs in England.[3] Some business was brought by ships from the West Indies, timber came from

[1] A letter of 1682 mentions a Spanish boat coming with wine, lemons, cabbages, charcoal, etc., for Tangier (C.O. 279, 30, 220).

[2] Cal. S.P. Dom., p. 332, 4th October 1675. Order by the Commissioners for Tangier that a letter to them from Cadiz on this subject be communicated to the Committee for Trade and Plantations.

[3] Cal. of Treasury Books, ii. 201-202, 440.

Newfoundland, and fruit and wine were occasionally exported from Tangier to England.[1]

The prospects of trade increased so rapidly that in 1677 the Mayor and Corporation petitioned for the removal of the prohibition to His Majesty's men-of-war to take in merchandise, as there were not enough ships for the Cadiz trade.

The habitual employment of men-of-war not only in convoy, but in actual transport, was one of the causes which impaired the efficiency of the navy during the later years of the reign of Charles II. The petition is an instance of the short-sighted policy of the Tangerine government, for the prohibition of 1669 was intended to improve the mobility and fighting efficiency of the King's frigates in the frequent wars against the Barbary corsairs. Pepys, a trenchant critic of naval affairs, writing in 1684, says that the King's service in the Straits and Mediterranean was sacrificed to the private interests of the sea captains, who made a good income by carrying money and merchandise from port to port, instead of leaving themselves free for the pursuit of pirates. The evil of "good voyages," he said, "runs through the fleet and spoils all discipline and service . . . The whole business of the navy now abroad is, how to get advantage of one another for private benefit."[2]

The principal local sources of revenue for Tangier were the rents of the King's houses, fines imposed in the Courts, excise dues, wharfage, cranage, porterage, and herbage.[3]

[1] Acts of P.C. colonial series, pp. 826, 885 and *London Gazette*, 21st April 1666.

[2] Pepys's "Journal in Spain," February 1684 (Smith's "Life," etc., ii. 15, 19, 23, 25, 28).

[3] It was decided at a meeting of the Court Merchant, 1st February 1675/6, by order of the Mayor and Corporation, that cranage should be charged at 6d. for bales over 3 cwt. and 3d. for lesser ones; goods landed without being craned to pay at half rate, except provisions, habiliments of war, timber, tiles, and lime, which are free, unless craned.

Porterage to be at the rate of 2d. for one man's burthen, *i.e.*, from 75 to 120 lbs. (The porterage was usually farmed out to private contractors, who either hired soldiers for the work, or employed slaves, whose numbers were kept as low as possible by the contractors in order to insure a larger profit. In consequence of the scarcity of porters, merchants often employed their own servants or slaves, thus avoiding the payment of porterage fees. In 1683 the farm of porterage was let to a contractor for six months at the rate of 2150 p[s]

The purposes to which they were applied were the payment of civil salaries, and the upkeep of the harbour, streets and public buildings. The small amount of revenue derived from these sources was not caused by want of orders and regulations; the difficulty lay in the collection of the dues imposed. Mr Phineas Bowles, deputy-treasurer and collector of revenues, was a most unsuccessful official, and could not be induced to make up his accounts until the Commander-in-Chief shut him up in his house with orders to stay there until he had finished them. The Mayor and Corporation complained that Mr Bowles' remissness in giving in his accounts and his neglect of the duties of collector caused a decrease in the revenues, but the collector himself averred that the shortage was chiefly due to the issue of "permissive tickets" for freedom from Excise, which were granted in excessive numbers by the Mayor and other members of the Corporation.

The duties on wines and spirits if duly collected, should have proved a useful addition to the revenues, considering the large quantities consumed in the town; these duties were often altered, but were usually rather high; in 1676 the Excise on wine was 3d. a gallon, on brandy 6d., and on beer 9½d.

A "Report on the Excise" drawn up by John Bland, dated 6th February 1676/7, shows that at first each company in the garrison had its sutler, licensed by the Governor, but when the town "became a branch apart from the soldiery" in 1668, several soldiers who were handicraftsmen were permitted to leave the army, and some were granted licenses to retail "drinking liquors." The number of "licensed taverners and victuallers," was nominally limited to twenty-

of 8 per an.: instead of the usual rate of 1400 p^{s} of 8. John Erlisman to the Tangier Committee, 15th June 1683 (C.O. 279, 31, 353). Ships using the chains in the harbour to pay 2s. per chain for the first ten days, 1s. 6d. for the next twenty days, and 1s. afterwards; the money to be used to keep the chains in repair.

Ships that come here to anchor but land or load no goods here, to be free from paying anything, as also all boats belonging to the place be free.

Ballast thrown on the bridge or wharf to be paid at 2d. per tun.

Herbage to be charged at 4½d. per week for grazing each cow or ox, 1½d. per week for each sheep.

four, but it soon increased to thirty or forty, and by 1680 there were no fewer than ninety in the town, and selling wine without a license was a frequent charge in the Court of Record. In 1670 the taverners petitioned for the imposition of extra excise duties in place of the sale of licenses, and this plan was tried by Lord Middleton, but it was found that private families "having a certain exemption from Excise," took undue advantage of the new rule, "many drawing wine as for their own use," and then selling it.

At the end of his report, Bland proposed the following excise duties, to be paid by the importer:—"For every Tun of beer 15^s, for French wines £1. 10. 0., for Brandy and Spirrits, both wicked drinks and mischeevious £5. 0. 0., for Syder, Mum and all such £1. 0. 0."

The general mismanagement of local revenues led to the commission of Captain Richard Bolland to report on the state of affairs in 1678. Various regulations were made concerning finance, and Bolland promised to send to the Commissioners a quarterly account of what was collected in the several branches of revenue, "or at least of what ought to be."

He found that through neglect, the wharf, crane, and bridge were almost useless, and the cranage and wharfage dues were no longer paid. Repairs were, therefore, set on foot, and the "Margaret" galley was bought from Mr Shere for use as a temporary bridge or wharf for landing merchandise, until, in 1679, a good bridge was built at a cost of about £200.

For about four years after the accession of Mulaï Ismâïl to the throne of Morocco in 1672, the Emperor was too busily engaged in the usual series of family wars and murders to spare much thought for the English garrison at Tangier. There was no fighting with the Moors beyond an occasional foray, and during this time of peace the defences of the town were allowed to fall into dangerous disrepair. No advantage was taken of the pre-occupation of the Moorish armies in civil war, though Mr Bland observed truly:

"If wee did what we ought, we mought whilst these Garbroyles last, possess ourselves of as much ground about us as would feed such cattle as Tanger needed, without

which advantage what can wee expect at one time or other shall become of Tanger?"[1]

Heedless of warning, the Tangerines thought of nothing but trade until the enemy was once more upon them, and the insecurity of their town and trade alike was brought home to them by the sight of large bodies of Moorish cavalry reconnoitring near the English lines.

Fortunately, in 1676, the command of the garrison devolved upon Sir Palmes Fairborne, who met the difficulties of his position with an energy and thoroughness that came just in time to save the town.

Palmes Fairborne[2] came to Tangier in 1662 as Captain in Lord Peterborough's regiment of foot; he had already won distinction in fighting against the Turks at Candia, and he added to his reputation in his dealings with the Moors. He was a brave soldier, and an able, if cautious, general. In more favourable circumstances he might have had a brilliant career, but his whole life was crippled and embittered by the system which left promotion to the caprice or favour of a Secretary of State. The constant arrears of pay often pushed him to the verge of poverty, and anxiety on behalf of his wife and seven children led him to use every means in his power to gain some addition to his income. He wrote constantly to commend himself to Arlington and to Sir Joseph Williamson in terms almost of servility, and tried to buy their favour with presents which he could ill afford. He sent to Lord Arlington a "Babery matt and a border to itt," with directions to have it put in the sun, and rubbed with a warm cloth; he also sent "a parmesan cheese, and a caskett of best sallett oyle," and, later on, a "barbary Mare and Coult." To Sir Joseph Williamson he wrote that he was sending him, by favour of Captain Beach, a colt; "he is a bright bay, with a feather in his neck and a stare in his forehead, two white feete,

[1] John Bland to Sir J. Williamson, 20th July 1676 (C.O. 279, 19, 205).

[2] Son of Colonel Stafford Fairborne of Newark. Commissioned as Lieutenant-Colonel of the Tangier regiment (Inchiquins), 17th January 1677 (Dalton, "English Army Lists," I, 194). Appointed Colonel of the Regiment, 10th November 1680, but died on 27th October 1680, *ibid.*, 277. He was knighted in 1675. *Cf.* Cal. S.P. Dom., 20th April 1675, p. 72.

the neare legg before and the farr legg behind. . . . I beg you will except of him." This was a handsome present, for it was very hard to induce the Moors to part with a horse of any kind, and after Ismâïl's accession none could be procured for love or money; yet Williamson did not even arrange to receive it, and did not write for a year though Fairborne begged him for a letter, saying: "you cannot imagine the comfort it gives a man at this distance." It was only through Captain Beach that Fairborne heard of "the miscarriage of the colt," and at last allowed himself an expression of indignation at Williamson's neglect, saying:

"I hope you will pardon me in saying you was much to blame for the neglect of him; I doe really tell you had I imagined you would have made such slight of him, I would never have parted with him, I was soe much in love with him."[1]

Fairborne still continued to sue for favour. He suggested, though without result, that he "could make a very faithfull treasurer," and begged Williamson to think of this "under the rose." Having failed to obtain this post he asked Williamson to use his influence to get him into the Prize Office at Tangier, and was given a commission "for the recovery of H.R.H. the Duke of York's Rights and Dues of Prizes." This appointment won him the enmity of Lord Middleton, who wanted it for himself, and early in 1674 Fairborne found himself in the dilemma of having to forfeit either this post or the favour of the Commander-in-Chief. His difficulties were increased by a feud of long-standing between himself and Captain Carr, which broke out openly on a point of military etiquette. Fairborne, when Captain of the Watch, accused Carr of insolence, and put him under arrest. Both officers were tried by court-martial, and Fairborne, being in disfavour with Lord Middleton, was found guilty of provocation, and suspended from his command. Mrs Fairborne then interviewed Lady Middleton on his behalf, saying that she feared Captain Carr was higher than her husband in my Lord's favour, but Lady

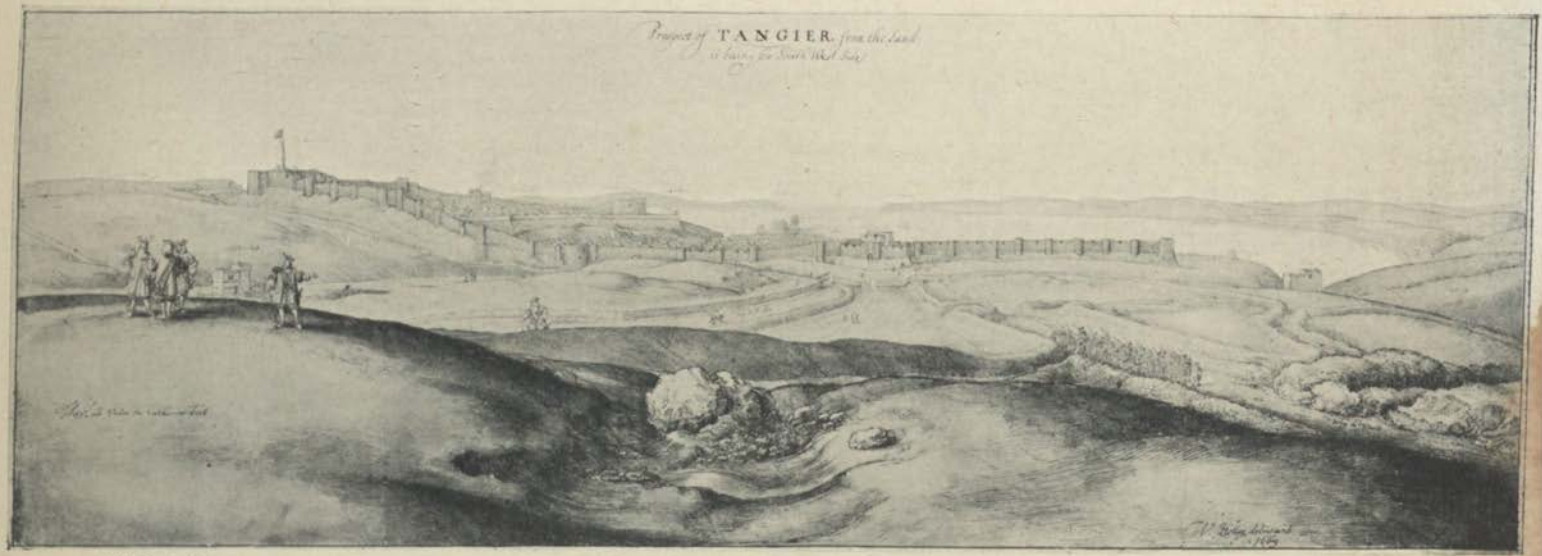
[1] Fairborne to Williamson, 13th August 1669 (C.O. 279, 12, 111).

Peterburgh Tower.

The Palace
(Governor's House).

York Castle.

Old Tangier.
Bridges Fort.



Whitehall.

The Hill under the Catherine Fort.

TANGIER FROM THE SOUTH-WEST.

By Wenceslaus Hollar.

[*To face p.* 156.

Middleton replied, "Hang Captain Carr, it is not that," and added that Major Fairborne had procured the Prize Commission to pick my Lord's pocket, and that one of them must fall. In spite of pressure Fairborne refused to give up his appointment. He eventually allowed impatience to get the better of him in a dispute with the Governor, and was again put under arrest, and in February 1674 he was sentenced to be shot for insubordination.[1] There appears to have been little fear that the sentence would be carried out, but the Major was kept under restraint for some time before Middleton granted him a pardon.[2]

Fairborne and Carr were nominally reconciled, but jealousy still smouldered, and a few years later the quarrel broke out afresh.

In 1677 when Fairborne was acting as Lieutenant-Governor, the pay of the garrison was more than usual in arrears, and it began to be rumoured that he and his wife were keeping it back for their own benefit. These rumours undermined his authority and caused a mutiny among the soldiers, but he took no official notice of them until Captain Carr's wife openly accused Lady Fairborne of theft of public funds. The Lieutenant-Governor then considered the affair of sufficient importance to justify his sending a detailed account of it to the Lords Commissioners.

While visiting another lady in the town, he wrote:—

"Mrs Carr . . . fell upon my wife without any provocation with very apretious (?) and scurilous language, which my wife indured with much patience." Fairborne continues that he demanded an apology from Captain Carr, and "whether he really intended a submittion or noe I knowe not, but knowing of my rideing every morning comes with his wife when I was not at home, and posts up into the roome where my wife was, accosting her in these words, Madam my husband hath commanded me to come and I am come to owne what I said the other day. My wife replied what, will

[1] An account of this affair is given in a Petition of Mrs Fairborne, wife of Major Palmes Fairborne, to my Lord Ambassador Godolphin at Madrid, on behalf of her husband, 12th June 1674. Rawl. MSS., D. 720, f. 94 *et seq.*, and in a narrative by Major Fairborne, *ibid.*, f. 97 *et seq.*

[2] Rawl. MSS., D. 923, f. 217, 223.

you owne that I am . . . and a theefe (which were part of her words the time before), then my wife had not patience but tould her her owne, att which Capt. Carr with drew his wife declaring she had done enough. Some time after I came out of the feilds and learnt what had passed, sent for Capt. Carr who I cannot say gave me any provoking language, but very boldly clapt on his hatt which I commanded him to take off and indeed gave it a touch with my hands, and because of his bringing his wife to mine to offer a second affront rather than make a submittion, altho' he declares he brought her to cry pecavy, I thought fitt to committ him to the Marshalls, where until such times as well him as she hath made their submissions, I shall detaine him unless otherwise ordered by your Lordships."[1]

A day or two later Sir Palmes repented of his haste, and sent a message to Captain Carr, saying that if he would sign a paper declaring that his only object in going to Fairborne's house had been to reconcile the ladies, he would "send for him and imbrace him." Captain Carr refused to agree to the proposal, and sent his wife home to London to complain of the treatment he had received.[2]

Lady Fairborne also went to England at about the same time, "in order to the settling of the children and other affairs," and both ladies addressed themselves to the Lords Commissioners for Tangier, to whom Fairborne wrote:—

"My wiffe will be able to sattisfie your Lordships the truth of all things, beseaching your Lordships to give creditt to her, for altho she may have passion incedent to that sex yett to save her life I am confident she would not tell your Lordships an untruth, nor would I ever owne her if she should."[3]

The Tangier Committee took a favourable view of Fairborne's conduct and his appointment as Lieutenant-Governor was confirmed.[4] Captain Carr was allowed to return to his command after two months' suspension, and Fairborne wrote to Lord Anglesey that he had composed the trouble "with a selfe deniall in most perticulers. . . . I

[1] Fairborne to the Lords Commissioners, 23rd May 1677 (C.O. 279, 20).
[2] Same to same, 24th May 1677 (Add. MSS., 17021, f. 28-30).
[3] Fairborne to Lords Commissioners, 29th August 1677 (C.O. 279, 21, f. 118).
[4] 15th October 1677.

doe most humbly assure your Lordshipe that my patience has not been a little tryed."[1]

Sir Palmes Fairborne was more than once accused of misappropriating the soldiers' pay, and of accepting bribes from the victuallers,[2] but these charges appear to have had little or no foundation; his administration was honest according to the standard of the times and far more conscientious than that of his predecessors. He gave eighteen years of his life to the service of Tangier and never spared himself in its defence, which he put into as good a state of organisation as his resources permitted. His first care was to take a muster of the troops, to appoint the garrison and the town militia to their proper posts in case of an alarm, to take measures to guard against ambushes and to raise the height of the lines in order to protect the men on outpost duty from sniping shots by the Moors. He reported that he found it necessary to repair the town walls by the old Parade, and "although there is not sixpence to doe itt, I hope your Lordships will not be offended if I put it forward, advancing my own until your Lordships further pleasure be known."

Two of the wooden forts were rebuilt with bricks brought from Spain, and Fairborne reported on 30th May 1676 that he had mounted nearly all of the twenty-nine great guns found without carriages, and had

"neare finisht the line between Monmouth ffort and James ffort to about 8 ffoote from the superfrise of the graft with stone . . . and a handsome ffoote bank within, with a parrapet 4ft. high, at noe charge except a little brandy to incourage the men."

In spite of positive orders to disburse nothing without permission, Fairborne felt that the only course open to him was to take the responsibility of repairing the forts and soldiers' quarters without delay, unless, as he justly observed,

[1] Add. MSS., 17021, f. 32, 6th June 1677. *Cf.* Report of 1st August, C.O. 279, 21, f. 45.

[2] Fairborne denied the charge, saying he had never received anything from Sir Denis Gauden "excepting 4 sheep, 2 doz. of neats tongues and 100 cwt. of white Biskett," 26th June 1676 (C.O. 279, 19, 428).

he was to endanger thirty times the amount by neglect. In January 1677 he took in and stockaded a piece of land between James and Anne Forts, about 300 yards every way, which "served Ann Lane and discovered a bottome where generally the Moores build their ambushes," and though "there was pritty store of Moores about," the work was done without the loss of a single man. He also built a wooden fort between James and Anne Forts, 24 feet square at the base and 24 feet high. Most of the work was done in the town, so that the actual building should take only one day, as the Moors were closing in and making entrenchments by night. Another wooden fort was put up between Cambridge and Monmouth Forts, in order to clear the sandhills and secure the town water-course. The difficulties of the Lieutenant-Governor were immensely increased by the long-continued neglect suffered by the garrison. During 1676 and 1677 pay was from two to two and a half years in arrears, and some of the men were on the point of mutiny, which broke out openly when extra labour was demanded for the fortifications during the hot weather, and was suppressed with some difficulty. There was a great deal of illness in the garrison, and a hundred men were in hospital with scurvy at one time. The Governor's regiment was far below its proper strength—there were not enough men to defend the lines except at third nights' duty. Fairborne wrote again and again to beg for recruits, but the few who were sent were "very sad creatures," "for the most part young boys and old men."

While making what preparations he could for war, the Lieutenant-Governor did not give up hope of coming to terms with the Moors, and opened negotiations with the Alcaïd Omar of Alcazar, who acted as Mulaï Ismâïl's deputy in all dealings with Tangier. It was he who commanded the Moorish forces in that district, and through him passed all communications between the English and the Emperor. He soon proved himself an enemy as implacable as Ghaïlán had been, and infinitely more subtle.

After the exchange of several pourparlers, Fairborne sent Captain Leslie and Mr Robert Cutberd (Cuthbert), merchant, to Alcazar, with full instructions to draw up articles of peac

The Alcaïd was at this time keeping in play envoys both of England and France, from whom he demanded presents of guns, powder, and cloth (violet, dark brown, red, and green), as the price of his friendship, which was presumably to go to the highest bidder. He assured Fairborne, however, that he would use his influence with the Emperor to prevent a Moorish alliance with the French, and would promote friendship with England, "because the English were not Roman Catholics, and were people of commerce from whom the Moors could buy what they had occasion for."[1] This last remark was an allusion to the fourteenth article of the treaty concluded by Fairborne's Commissioners at Salli in September 1676,[2] which permitted the Moors to buy powder at Tangier to the amount of one hundred barrels, and also "firelocks and other utensills of warr," upon order of the Emperor or the Governor of Salli. This article was construed by the Moors into an obligation on the part of the Governor of Tangier to supply them with arms and ammunition to any amount whenever they asked for them. It was not long before the Governor of Salli demanded four hundred guns, which the Emperor had ordered him to buy at once on pain of losing his head, and throughout the rest of the English occupation of Tangier the Moors expressed their resentment whenever guns and powder were refused them.

It seems almost incredible that such an article should have been agreed to at a time when every barrel of powder and every firelock that could be obtained was likely soon to be needed against the Moors themselves; but it must be remembered that arms supplied by treaty were necessarily limited in quantity, and could add comparatively little to the military efficiency of the Moorish tribesmen, many of whom were already armed with European weapons. In times of peace an English merchant could obtain a concession from his Government to trade in powder with the Moors, and even when war was declared there were not wanting traders who were ready to betray their country's welfare for a high price. In Lord Teviot's time the captains

[1] Report of 19th June 1677 (C.O. 279, 20, f. 419).

[2] 26th September 1676 (C.O. 279, 19, 82, and Add. MSS., 17021, 10 (copy of treaty)).

of the King's frigates had orders to stop the transport of arms and powder to Salli and Tetuan in English ships, but contraband trade with Morocco continually went on. An anonymous letter written in 1679 affirms that one thousand five hundred barrels of powder intended for use at Tangier were by treachery sold to the Moors, many thousands of whom were then encamped before the walls. The writer adds:—

"Thus 'tis too often the custom of our Nation to give away their Swords to their Enemies and then fight with their Teeth, and furnish our Foes with means to cut our throats. What a cursed thing is this private Self Interest! How many brave Kingdoms hath it destroyed! While every one is much for himself the Devil fools us all. There are men in the World that would sell their King, their Country, their Religion, their Souls and all, to Pope or Turk or any other Chapman, for ready money."[1]

The negotiations with the Alcaïd Omar had no result—probably he had no real intention of concluding peace, and Fairborne did not press it on account of an outbreak of plague in Alcazar, which made commercial intercourse with that neighbourhood undesirable. In December 1677 the Governor turned the Barbary Jews out of the town, and a month later war began once more.

On 6th January 1678, at nine o'clock in the evening, firing was heard from Charles, Henrietta, Kendall, Pond, and Anne Forts, and it became evident that the enemy was making an attack in considerable force. The night was so dark that the Commander-in-Chief dared not risk any troops in a counter-attack, knowing by long experience of the Moors that an ambush of overwhelming numbers was sure to be hidden between the town and the forts.

Half an hour after the first attack, as Fairborne looked anxiously into the darkness from the Upper Castle, he saw, as he reported on the following day—

"Kendall fort blown up and soone after afire, and the enimy still very hott against Charles and Henrietta; on a suddaine I perceived . . . the dore open and a great light

[1] "The Present Danger of Tangier," 29th July 1679. A letter from Cadiz to Will Ellis at the Three Pidgeons in Creed Lane (Brit. Mus., Pamphlets, 583, i. 3 (2)).

in Henrietta by which I concluded yt lost, which proved accordingly, soe after about 3 hours conflict the enemy withdrew out of shott."[1]

Charles Fort was gallantly defended by Captain Trelawny, and the officers and men in the other forts also held their own, and were favourably mentioned in despatches. The Moors made no attempt to hold the two posts they had taken, and when Fairborne moved out with a relieving force at break of day, he found the gutted forts silent and deserted; the bodies of only two soldiers were lying in Fort Henrietta, the remaining eight of the guard having been apparently taken prisoners. Kendal Fort, which had been defended by a guard of ten men, with a sergeant in command, "a most admirable officer," was "found all in a ruine, the men burnt to ashes."

The Moorish methods of fighting were very different now from what they had been in the early attacks of Ghaïlán's undisciplined tribesmen. Their organisation was greatly improved, and a number of Turks, who had served a long apprenticeship at the siege of Candia, brought to the army of Ismâïl a knowledge of modern warfare and of new scientific inventions for the successful conduct of a siege, which was as yet unattained by the English soldiers at Tangier.

The Lieutenant-Governor took a keen professional interest in noting the methods of attack. He reported to Sir Joseph Williamson—

"They have found a way of Stinck Potts which upon its breaking makes a suddaine flaime and from them proceeds such a stinck that men are sufficated with itt. This fort (Henrietta) was tyled and about 20 foot high soe to make roome for their Potts to gett in they had long forks, and as we suppose, stood upon one another to get the tyles off, which done with greate force they broake the dore and enter'd."

Finding two of these "Potts," Fairborne and Mr Shere, the Engineer-General, "made tryall of their opperation." They were "made as bigg as a large hand Granado, match

[1] Fairborne to Williamson, 7th January 1678 (C.O. 279, 22, f. 61).

to be lighted at both ends, which breaking upon its fall kindles the combustion matter with in it."[1]

The wooden forts recently built were hardly tenable against these implements, and the scaling ladders brought up by the enemy, on which four men could mount abreast, facilitated their use.

The guards at every point were doubled to "welcome the Moors," but the men were now at second night's duty, and could not be spared to repair the lines, of late much damaged by heavy rain.

About three weeks after the loss of the two forts, Fairborne received instructions, despatched before the news reached home, to conclude a treaty with the Moors on the terms they had offered; but, until he could re-possess the forts, he "could not conceive it for his Majesty's honour to make any overtures to them therein." He wrote home begging earnestly that more men might be sent him drawn from the standing regiments, assuring His Majesty that it was of absolute necessity that the garrison should be reinforced.

As spring drew near, in spite of the need of men and of "warlike stores" of every kind, the remaining forts were still held and those destroyed by the enemy were re-built. Fairborne says of Fort Kendal, on 1st March—

"I have made both that and Henrietta the two best forts about the lines and will by degrees strengthen all the forts . . . the £1000 allotted in June last is now near expended, so that I shall be at a loss, nevertheless rather than stand still I'll borrow and Imploy all my own until I can hear his Majestie's pleasure."

The arrival of the *Foresight* in the same month, with an instalment of stores and ammunition and six months' pay, and promises of further reinforcements, renewed hope in the garrison, though recruits were still badly needed.

A few weeks later Lord Inchiquin returned from England, after a prolonged absence, and Sir Palmes Fairborne went home on leave. Very few letters of 1678 and 1679 are preserved among the State Papers. Inchiquin possibly did

[1] Fairborne to Williamson, 7th January 1678 (C.O. 279, 22, f 61.

not trouble to write detailed reports. In any case, he fell under suspicion at home of carelessness and neglect of the urgent duty of defence.[1] In a "narrative of affairs at Tangier from April 1678 to April 1680," drawn up at a later date by order of the Tangier Committee, Inchiquin alludes to "the Cloud under which I lye," and gives an account of the difficulties which beset him.[2] Though he had been promised recruits to bring the strength of the garrison up to fourteen hundred and forty men, he says, at last not eight hundred could be depended on for duty. The fortifications were out of repair, and Sir Palmes had spent all the money "arising on the place," and the stores of war had been heavily drawn upon. Early in June 1680 "the enemy appeared very numerous in the fields," and "by night proled about James, Yorke and ffountaine fforts," and several ambushes were laid.

An attack in force became more and more imminent, though Inchiquin continued negotiations with the Moorish leader in order to maintain trade with the country people as long as possible, and in October sent out two commissioners to make a fresh attempt to treat for peace.

By March 1679 some thousands of Moors were encamped round Tangier, under command of the Alcaïd Omar of Alcazar, and a determined attack was made on the English lines. Several of the smaller forts surrendered apparently without much resistance, though one or two made a gallant but hopeless defence.

The western side of the lines was subjected to the main attack of the Moors, and on the night of 3rd April they made a general assault on all the forts, concentrating their chief force against Whitby, where a low house with a small tower at one end was bravely defended by a sergeant and twenty-eight men, who held the house as long as they could; and then, finding that fifty or sixty Moors had climbed on to the roof, blew up house and enemy together, and, retreating to the tower, defended themselves there for more than an hour, until a corner of the wall fell down, and the Moors, rushing in, found alive only seven

[1] Ormonde MSS. (Hist. MSS., Com. Report, new series, v. 346).

[2] Sloane MSS., 1952, ff. 19-33.

men and the sergeant in command, who refused to take quarter.

Another wooden redoubt near Whitby was defended no less bravely by a sergeant and twelve men, who, when their ammunition was spent, held the enemy at bay with swords and half-pikes until most of the defenders were either killed or wounded and all their weapons broken. Then the sergeant, having ordered the survivors to retreat, set fire to the powder and blew up the redoubt, killing himself and forty of the enemy.[1]

The Moors admitted the loss of one hundred and fifty men in this attack, and rumour doubled the number. The British losses were said to be only twenty killed and fifteen taken prisoners; but the number must have been underestimated, if the foregoing accounts of the night's engagement are to be trusted.[2]

Still the numbers of the Moorish forces increased until the town itself was in some danger, and trade, which had shown a marked improvement, again declined. Foreigners began to leave, and the alarm of the merchants rose almost to panic in June 1679, when reports that the French king had renewed designs against Tangier were received from London, Holland, France, and Portugal.

A two months' truce concluded with the Moors in June was the merest pretence. The Alcaïd Omar found that the Emperor would not confirm it, and war continued, though little fighting took place during the following autumn and winter.

[1] A "bounty" of £60 was paid "to Mary Heathley, whose husband blew up Whitley (Whitby) Fort at Tangier, and lost his life there," 25th February 1679/80. Moneys received and paid for Secret Services of Charles II. and James II. (Guy, Camden Soc., 1851).

[2] There are no accounts of this engagement in the Tangier Correspondence, (P.R.O.) though Inchiquin's "Narrative" (Sloane MSS., 1952, 33) contains an allusion to a journal sent by Mr Shere, which probably gave a report of it. The accounts given above are taken from the *London Gazette*, 24/28th April 1679.

CHAPTER X

THE SIEGE OF TANGIER—1680

THE year 1680 brought the crisis of the English occupation of Tangier. This was the time of greatest danger to the garrison, and the most conspicuous success of the Moors, when it seemed that the Emperor, Mulai Ismâïl, was within measurable distance of fulfilling his wish to "drive the Christians into the sea."

Sir Palmes Fairborne did not return until 8th April 1680; at about the same time the garrison was reinforced by four companies of Lord Dunbarton's (the Scotch) regiment. Fairborne immediately made an inspection of the place, which he found closely besieged by the Moors, and already in desperate straits. Lord Inchiquin's rule was characterised by an almost incredible carelessness. The recruits sent out in 1679 were decimated by illness due to the neglect of ordinary precautions. The fortifications were almost in ruins, the forts were in the greatest danger, and the defence of the town itself was no easy matter. Inchiquin had indeed provisioned the garrison of Charles Fort, and reinforced it with a company of seventy men and three officers, and had made a "Sally-port and line of Communication" between the fort and the castle, but this line was soon afterwards cut by the Moors. Fairborne wrote home in consternation:—

"I must confess I never saw a place more ruinous than this, noe one thing being in a condicion fitt for defence, and what is worse not one spare arme in the stores excepting a few blunderbuses that is come at this time with me. I beseech you to dispatch with all speed att least 1200, the Scotch companys being very ill arm'd and if we come to a brisk acion we shall be in great distress."[1]

[1] Fairborne's despatch of 13th April 1680 (C.O. 279, 25, ff. 183 *et seq.*).

His pessimism was by no means unfounded. It might well seem that the garrison, a mere handful of troops, ill-paid, armed, and fed, and worn out with frequent sleepless nights on guard, could not long hold out against the untiring and unnumbered enemy, who were drawing in every day closer and more boldly to the lines that guarded the city.

From all sides came reports that the Moors were in enormous force; a refugee from their camp reported that they had mobilised "all that ever the country could afford, besides several thousands of the king's army of blacks."

This standing army of hereditary black troops was Ismâïl's chief pride and source of strength. Collected into great camps from all parts of his dominions and imported in large numbers from the Sûdan, these negroes were brought up from boyhood to the art of soldiery, and taught to look to the Emperor alone for advancement.[1] They formed the nucleus of Ismâïl's military forces, and, supplemented by the usual tribal levies, made his army a formidable and mobile machine, the guiding intelligence of which was supplied to a great extent by European prisoners captured by corsairs, and taken as slaves to the Moorish court. Many willing renegades there were also in his service—gunners, miners, and engineers—who instructed the Moors in the use of the guns and muskets too easily obtained from Europe, and helped to make Ismâïl's power a standing menace to every Christian garrison in Morocco.

The enemy's lines round Tangier were laid out by the traitor "Hamet," a Moor who had acquired his knowledge at the siege of Maestricht and other places in Flanders, where French engineers under the direction of Vauban had brought the art of investing fortified towns to a state of perfection hitherto unknown. He was assisted by a renegade named Jonas, "once Sexton's boy at Tangier."

Hamet was a villain of considerable ability; he had been at one time a slave of Lord Belasyse, and afterwards of the Duke of York, who had him educated in London

[1] Budgett Meakin, "The Moorish Empire," pp. 155, 156.

and treated him with great favour, giving him the name of "James York."

The Duke sent him to Tangier, thinking that he might be useful to the garrison.[1] In 1671 he was given facilities for a tour in Europe,

"having very good credits given him for his whole journey," says John Luke, who adds, "possibly hee is sent out of the way a while for being suspected of too much kindnesse to some of the women."[2]

He was given an introduction to the Duke of Florence, and from his court went overland through Germany and the Netherlands, where he took the opportunity to study siege operations. Later on he returned to Tangier and was employed as a guide, being completely trusted by the Governor, Lord Inchiquin; but, thinking himself slighted by him, he plotted revenge, and led five hundred men of the garrison into an ambush, in which many of them were killed.[3] He then ran away to the Moors, and employed his engineering skill in assisting them to besiege Tangier.

One day during the siege he was sent in with a flag of truce and a letter, and asked the garrison "what they thought of yesterday morning's sport?" He was said to have been killed towards the end of the war.

The siege began in good earnest on 25th March, when the Moors began to entrench themselves between Forts Charles and Henrietta and between Kendal and Pond Forts, with lines towards Teviot Hill. The Charles Fort garrison tried by constant firing to stop the enemy's works, but made little impression on the Moors, who worked all night in their trenches sheltered behind a "blind of stones," though one moonlight night the men in the fort got their range so well that they were forced to leave the works for a time, and the next day a cavalier was erected on the fort, 30 feet above the ground, from which eight or nine men could fire

[1] "Tanger's Rescue," p. 21.

[2] Luke's "Diary," 25th January 1671.

[3] Fairborne to Williamson, 10th September 1675 (C.O. 279, 17).

into the depths of the trenches, while hand-granades were fired from a small mortar-piece.

Nevertheless the Moors continued their works, and triumphantly planted their colours in the trenches, "their Drum beating like a Cooper on a Tub" meanwhile; by 6th April they had cut the lines of communication, and the forts were completely isolated.

During his reconnaissance of 9th April, Fairborne found the enemy

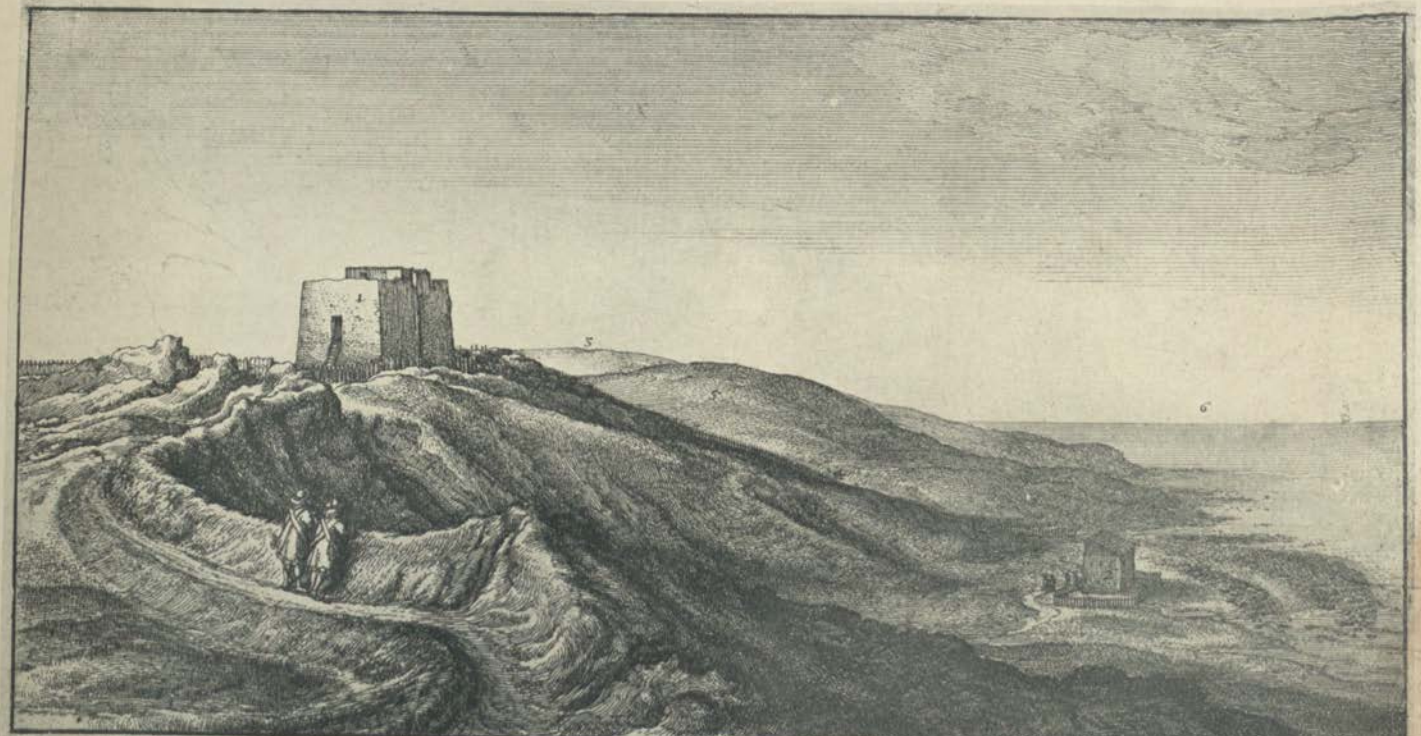
"entrenched between Charles and Henrietta Forts and the towne and with a treble trench deep and broade as we guess att least 20 foot, with several places of arms within their trenches entrenched, and Avenues from each to succor one another upon any sally we should make against them, soe formidable and soe regular that noe Christian enemie ever proceeded better nor more resolute."

Two hundred and forty picked men held the outer forts, and the officers communicated with the Castle every night by means of speaking trumpets, reporting the movements of the enemy and their own position to the Commander-in-Chief, "in Irish," lest English renegades with the Moors should understand and translate their conversation to the enemy. Charles and Henrietta Forts especially were in almost hopeless case and surrounded by the enemy. A mine was laid against the south angle of Charles Fort, which Captains Trelawny and St John, "both men of valour and conduct," tried to frustrate with counter-mines, doing their utmost to hold their post until relief should come.

Lord Inchiquin, however, decided not to risk a sortie, but to concentrate his forces on the defence of the inner lines, and only to support the forts by means of mortar-pieces playing on the enemy's trenches.

Encouraged by the inaction of the garrison, the Moors redoubled their efforts against the forts.

"Last night," wrote Fairborne on 13th April, "they made an attaque upon Henrietta, and continued from 8 o'clock till nere 3 with great resolucion on both sides, and if you had seene the Hand Granadoes that were throwne downe at that time you would conclude that 50,000 hand granadoes is noe


1 Henrietta Fort, 2. Devils drop. 3. Tiveots hill.
Prospect of the grounds about Henrietta Fort.
4 English Palisadoes, 5. Enemies grounds, 6. The Atlantick Ocean,

1. Henrietta Fort.
2. Devil's Drop.
3. Tiveots Hill.

HENRIETTA FORT.
BY WENCESLAUS HOLLAR.

4. English Palisadoes.
5. Enemies' grounds.
6. The Atlantic Ocean.

[*To face p.* 170.

great store for this garrison, the nature of the stores being such as will require much of them for good defence thereof.

"The Enemie came close to the forts with their galleries in hopes to have mett with a very thin wall and soe to have wrought a hole in to throw the stink potts, but the fort in my time was fill'd 10 foot with Earth besides the Wall about 4 foot thick, soe that by the valor of the Defenders the Enemie was forc'd to quitt their attacque leaving some of their lathers behind them, and their Galleries which those of the fort fired with fire-balls throw'd downe from the fort upon it. We expect they will be at it again to-night, and if our men doth but preserve our hand granadoes I hope they may make the Enemie weary of attempting much more against them, he that commands is a brave Lieutenant called Willson, and an excellent Serjt with him and 30 soldiers, select men, which is the strength of the fort."[1]

The losses of the Moors in this engagement were considerable, and for a fortnight they made no direct assault, but busied themselves with their trenches, in order to cut the forts off from each other, as well as from the town.

On 29th April the enemy was seen at daybreak drawn up under Teviot Hill, while a large party were busy preparing a mine against Charles Fort. From the walls of the town and from Pole Fort the Moors were seen at work, the leaders riding about to encourage their men, who during two hours carried up stones and timber to the mouth of the mine, which was out of sight of Charles Fort. After putting two hundred negroes into the trenches, the Alcaïd Omar, still in command of the Moorish forces, sent in two renegades, a Frenchman and an Englishman from Tetuan, with a white flag, to Captains Trelawny and St John, to summon the fort, and to tell them that he had a mine ready to spring, and unless they surrendered at once, all to be slaves, he would blow them up within an hour. The English officers at once returned answer that "he might do his worst, they were there to maintain the fort and not to yield it."[2]

The Alcaïd, scarcely believing it possible that they could

[1] Fairborne's Report of 13th April (C.O. 279, 25, 183 *et seq.*).

[2] "An Exact Journal of the Siege of Tangier," etc., in three letters, written by three eye witnesses of the whole transaction (Pamphlets, Brit. Mus. 583, i. 3). This account was evidently written by one of the Charles Fort garrison.

still intend to hold out against his attack, then sent another messenger to invite the commanders to inspect the mine, that they might know the extent of their danger. Two miners were accordingly sent from the fort, but on their return Trelawny and St John again boldly answered that "they would stand it out to the last." They confirmed their reply by firing a volley of shot and hoisting their flag over the fort. The mine was then sprung, but failed to reach the fort. As soon as the smoke cleared, Fairborne, eagerly watching from the walls, "saw the fort safe and sound to my nöe small satisfaction, and (was) saluted with three hollows from the fort as a signe that all was well."[1]

After this there was another short breathing-space, and the Alcaïd Omar sent in a letter to Fairborne, beginning with the usual professions of amity and ending with open threats, saying that he was commanded by the Emperor to reduce all the forts round Tangier, and

"now that the King my master hath subdued all his enemies at his hearts desire and is returned in peace to his house, I cannot return nor rise up from these fields where I am until my intention is fulfilled. As to the mine and powder and other things," he adds, "once they missed but another time if God pleaseth may take effect."[2]

To this Sir Palmes merely responded that as Lord Inchiquin commanded the garrison at present, he himself had no authority to reply officially, but he had no doubt that he would in time meet the Alcaïd in the field.

Meanwhile Admiral Herbert, who, as Fairborne reported, was always ready to serve the garrison with "personal courage and the help of his fleet," made a demonstration before Azîla, hoping to divert the enemy in that direction. He left four frigates there and two before Salli, and then went to cruise between Cape Spartel and Trafalgar. The presence of his squadron was of the greatest value to the garrison.

[1] Fairborne to Sir Leonell Jenkins, 20th April, 1680 (C.O. 279, 25, 202). This is the official report of the attack on Charles Fort. A corroborative account, from which a few of the details given above are taken, is in "An Exact Journal of the Siege of Tangier," quoted above.

[2] Omar to Fairborne, *ibid.*, f. 205.

No Moorish corsairs could face the combined force of his frigates and the batteries of guns on the Mole, which were served by "300 good men" detailed by the Admiral, "whose vigilance and care of us is very extraordinary," remarked Fairborne appreciatively. It is hardly too much to say that without his support the town must have fallen. The garrison was encouraged by the knowledge that from the sea, at least, there was no danger of attack, and a naval contingent defended the eastern shore.

The Moors, however, were too near success to be drawn away from the beleaguered city, and the naval demonstration at Azîla failed to divert their army from the western outposts of Tangier.

Every day the danger increased, and still no help came from England. Omar pressed on the siege with relentless energy; he hanged the man who was responsible for the mine that had failed, and set engineers from Cadiz to work at three new mines directed against Charles Fort. About three thousand five hundred Moors were daily seen in the trenches, and great guns were brought from Tetuan and Salli. Fairborne, writing to Sir Lionel Jenkins, now Secretary of State, told him plainly that unless reinforcements arrived at once, the town could not be held for three months, and that, rather than lose it to the Moors, he would advise the King to have it blown up.

The loss of Henrietta and Charles Forts was now only a question of days. Henrietta was undermined and a breach was made in the walls by a falcon taken by the enemy from Anne Fort some time before. On 9th May, Lieutenant Wilson, the Commander, called to Charles Fort that he could not hold out for twenty-four hours. His message was passed on to the upper Castle, and Lord Inchiquin called a council of war to discuss the possibility of a sortie. It was decided by the council that the relief of the forts could not be effected without palpable hazard of losing the whole relief party, and was not to be attempted.

Inchiquin therefore tried to obtain terms for the forts, answering a former overture from the Alcaïd, but Omar, now sure of success, told the envoys that he did not value stone walls; it was the men he desired, and he wondered His

Excellency lay still, and did not endeavour to prevent their entrenchments, and to relieve those brave fellows in the forts. He would agree to nothing but unconditional surrender, sc "his Lordship resolved to let them take their fate at the fort."[1]

This over-cautious resolve did incalculable harm in lowering British prestige in the eyes of the Moors, while the callou selfishness which prompted it is almost beyond comment.

As they realised that they were finally abandoned by their Commander-in-Chief, despair at last crept in among the brave defenders of the two forts. Their provisions were running short, they were surrounded by the enemy, cut off both from the city and the sea, and now without hope of relief; hardly a quarter of a mile lay between them and the upper Castle, but the open, flower-covered common — "the pleasant fields once taken in by the famous Teviot"— was now deeply scored with trenches filled daily by a determined and well-armed enemy, from three thousand to six thousand strong. Trelawny and St John, feeling that they could not long restrain their men from mutiny, gave them the choice of holding their post to the last, or fighting their way through the enemy's trenches back to the Castle.[2] It was a desperate chance—one hundred and seventy-six men against three or four thousand—but they took it rather than wait on, trapped in their fort, until the inevitable end.

The officers communicated their decision to the Castle by speaking trumpet, and asked for support in their retreat. Even Inchiquin felt that this could not be denied them, and calling a council of war, he announced the resolution of those in the fort to fight their way back.

All that could be done to assist the retreat was carried

[1] Francis Povey, Surveyor of Ordnance, in his account of this affair, says that Lord Inchiquin promised the garrison of Henrietta Fort to "do his endeavour to relief them by Sally within a day or two."—Francis Povey to Col. George Legge, Tangier, 18th May 1680 (Dartmouth MSS., Report, i. 50). This, however, is not confirmed in the official report by Fairborne (quoted above), who was present at the council of war. Fairborne to Sir L. Jenkins, 11th May 1680 (C.O. 279, 25, f. 209).

[2] It was afterwards stated that Captain Trelawny left the Fort against his will, at the Governor's command ("Tanger's Rescue" by John Ross, p. 3). This again is not confirmed by Fairborne. Fairborne to Jenkins, 14th May 1680 (C.O. 279, 25, 211).

out under the direction of Colonel Fairborne, who wrote on 14th May:

"Neare 10 aclocke at night the 12th Instant they called from Charles Fort that we should be ready to assist them on friday morning the 14th about 7 aclock, in order to which we gott 480 men in the night to the Castle, because we could move in noe way in the morning without being discovered by the Enemy from the Sandhills."

The supporting force advanced in five detachments, the whole under command of Major Boynton, Lord Inchiquin having refused to allow Fairborne to take part in the sortie.[1] The officers of Charles Fort had invited the guard of Henrietta to join forces with them; but this fort, smaller and more isolated from the Castle, could not hold out long enough to join in the planned retreat. On 14th May Fairborne had to send home the following account of the worst disaster that had befallen the garrison since 1664:—

"The 13th in the Evening Henrietta fort surrendered and about 4 aclock in the morning they blew up their mine which carryed away above half the fort, and a little before six we saw from the Castle nere a 1000 foot march up from Jews river with the English soldiers of the fort amongst whom there was an Irishman . . . who without doubt discovered what Charles fort intended that morning, for immediately . . . we saw all the field covered with them running to their trenches with all speed, which Charles fort perceiving having before spikt up all the great guns, broke their arms and put all the Amunition into the Countermine they had made and layd a traine they sallyed out of the fort, Captain St Johns as youngest Captain leading the van, and Captain Trelawny bringing up the reare, and the last man out of the fort, Ensign Richd Roberts, a nimble stout young man

[1] The main body was commanded by Major Boynton, Captain Giles, Captain Wingfield, and Captain Ely; on the right were ten files (one account says six) under Captain Leslie, on the left six files under Lieutenant Clarke, and the horse.

"The forelorne, consisting of 72 men whereof 2 was granaders," was commanded by Captain Hume, of Lord Dunbarton's Regiment. The reserve was under Captains Moncrieff and Barber; and the naval reserve, manning the palisades, under Captain Spragge.

Fairborne's Report to Sir L. Jenkins, 14th May 1680 (C.O. 279, 25, 211); *London Gazette*, 10/14th June; Letter of 18th May (*cf.* Colonel Davis, *op. cit.*, i. 153).

stayed to put fire to the traine which tooke soe good effect that ere our men got to the enemyes trenches the South East bastion blew up. In the meane our men advanced with what speed they could up to the trenches (I meane the forelorne commanded as I have sayd by Captain Humes of the Earle of Don Bartons (Dunbarton) Regiment, our men (*i.e.*, from Charles fort) being come to the Enemyes trenches found a Quadrille trench deepe and broad, notwithstanding they gott over three but that was next to the towne being deeper and broader than any of the rest there only got over 40 of neare 200, Captain St Johns, Lieutenant Clause a brave officer and Ensigne Roberts who sett fire to the mine, all the rest cut to pieces excepting 13 and a boy taken prisoners as the Alcade signefyed by a flag about 4 houres after the action.

"Brave Captain Trelawny being shot climming up the last trench and there left dead, in the meane time the enemy issues out of their trenches endeavouring to get betweene the forelorne and the maine body, but Captain Humes behaved himself so bravely that he put them to stand, and one of their prime men (being more valiant than the rest) pushes into the lane with his horse, overturns Captain Humes at the head of his party but falls of his horse where he was killed by the Captain and his men. The main body consisting of 120 men being in the reare of him without being attaqued betook themselves to flight and likewise the reserve . . . which gave the enemy more encouragement to persist in destroying the forelorne, but they were soe well commanded by Captain Humes that he made his retreat and our men facing about facilitated much their retreat."[1]

Another and less reliable account of the day's action is given by Francis Povey of the Ordnance Department, who, though an eye-witness of the fighting, had inaccurate information in a few particulars, and was also given to habitual exaggeration. According to his account the main body failed signally in their duty. "All this while," he says, "those brave men of the forelorne killed the Moors but the (main) body ran away and not above 5 officers stood, he

[1] Fairborne's Dispatch of 14th May 1680 (C.O. 279, 25, 211). On the following day Fairborne reported (*ibid*, f. 212), that on enquiry it seemed that the main body kept their ground till the forlorn retreated, and that Ensign Adams advanced from it and did Captain Hume good service.

that should failed as formerly."[1] This was the officer in command who was nicknamed "Wheel-about" from this day Povey writes in another letter: "We have too many cowardly officers, instead of doing their country service they run it and run like sheepe, I cannot speake badd enough of them."[2] The Moorish trenches, from 12 to 20 feet deep, had been partly filled with water since the recent heavy rains, and the soft earth from the sides had been washed down into them, making them almost impassable. There was furious fighting in their muddy depths as the English soldiers struggled through. The men from the fort, at last hand to hand with the enemy, sold their lives dearly; but the Moors in triumph swarmed down upon them, and thrust them back from the safety they had so nearly reached. Captain Trelawny was said to have been killed as he stopped to try to help his son up out of the last trench, and the boy was taken prisoner by the enemy. Povey says in his account:—

"Captain Trelany with 117 men was killed and all their heads cut off, and I think every man had a thousand wounds. I never saw such a barbarous sight. . . . If affaires had been well managed wee need not have lost 10 men."

Captain Trelawny, who was "much belov'd by all this city," was buried in Tangier Church, beside a volunteer named Wray, who was killed during the engagement in a boat belonging to the *Adventure*.

Captain Hume was shot in the leg, fifteen men of the "forlorn" were killed and many more wounded, as Fairborne reported, and

"Captain St Johns after that he got over the 4th trench fac'd about to help his companions, and stay'd whilst he got together what was brought off, but in his retreat was shot throw the sholder under the plate-bone which makes us feare very much his recovery, he is a brave officer and deserves particular notice to be taken of him as does also Captain Humes and the rest of the officers with them that are alive."[3]

[1] Francis Povey to Colonel George Legge, Governor of Portsmouth, etc., Tangier, 18th May 1680 (Dartmouth MSS., Hist. MSS., Com. Report, i. 50, 51).

[2] F. Povey to the officers of the Ordnance, 3rd June 1680 (W.O. Ord. Misc. 1082, "Booke of Tanger," f. 143 *et seq.*).

[3] Fairborne's Report, 14th May. Captain St John subsequently recovered.

The want of cavalry was much felt in this engagement, and also the need of good gunners. There is no doubt that accurate firing from the artillery in the earlier stages of the siege could have hindered the Moorish entrenchments close to the town, which made the retreat from Charles Fort so disastrous; but this arm of the service was very short of men. Francis Povey wrote after 13th May:—

"In this engagement we played our ordnance and destroyed their horse much, I likewise played the mortar piece upon Charles Fort and destroyed them like flies. Here is no person that knew how to use it if I had not undertook it."

Admiral Herbert gave considerable help by sending a detachment of seamen to man the palisades. He also endeavoured to divert the enemy by sea. The *Adventure's* boat was sent to make an attempt to rescue twelve men from Giles Fort, a small fort close to Whitby; but only one of them was able to swim out to the boat, the rest surrendered to the enemy. "And thus you have this day's action," concludes Fairborne, "nor can I see as yet any means to maintaine long the rest."

After the action, by leave of the Alcaïd, the mutilated bodies of the slain were fetched into the city for burial; their heads were sent in by the Moorish chief during the afternoon.

With a list of the fifty-seven prisoners he had taken, the Alcaïd sent in a message, which Fairborne reports as follows:—

"If his Lordship had a mind to be eas'd of this troublesom warr he should quitt all the forts and be content to keepe the place as the Portugalls had it, otherwise he (the Alcaïd) would not stir from hence till he had reduced them all. If his Excellency does not accept these terms," continues Fairborne, "the next businesse will be the towne, for since the Enemye are both skillfull in mineing and great guns we cannot hold out long if they proceed after the rate they have done."

Nevertheless Inchiquin wrote to the Moor thanking him for his civility, but "as to quitting the forts, it did not consist with Honor of his Majestie nor his owne, and tho' he knew

them not to be impregnable, yet would sell them as deare as he could."[1]

The extent of the enemy's losses in the engagement was unknown, though it must have been considerable; but the fact remains that their position was enormously improved by the capture of the forts.

Thirteen great guns and a mortar-piece in Charles Fort fell into their hands, and "notwithstanding they were spiked the Moores drove out the spikes to admiration." They found also in the fort a large store of hand-granades, and some shot which had failed to blow up in the countermine fired by Ensign Roberts; these with seven guns taken from other forts, and a quantity of English bullets picked up and stored by them during the siege, gave the Moors a very effective provision of artillery and ordnance.

The day following the loss of the forts the Moors hauled their great guns up Teviot Hill and trained them on Pole and Norwood Forts, and also on the town. Povey, whose knowledge of gunnery gained him a commission as "comptroller of Ordnance" says with characteristic self-satisfaction, "I thinke I sent some of them to Mahomet with the Mortar piece to the view of all the Garrison."

Fairborne wrote on the 17th of May:—

"We have secured Polefort about 10 foot high with great Rumbuts filled with earth which will preserve her some time from being battard downe, but the Enemye have now brought a 12 pownder and Demyculvering, and are making another battary neare James."

They were at work, too, on new lines and trenches cleverly planned, "soe they leave nothing undon that may gain advantage upon us."

On 21st May renewed proposals of peace were brought in by a Jewish messenger, and the Governor called a Council of War to consider them. It was concluded that the rest of the outer forts were not tenable above three days. For want of horse no effectual sally could be made to save Pole Fort; its capture would mean the loss of its garrison of a

[1] Fairborne's Reports of 14th and 15th May (C.O. 279, 25, f. 211, 212).

hundred men with three officers, and, besides this, the fort commanded the town. The Governor feared that from it the Moors would be able to fire into the Upper Castle, and probably to set fire to the houses crowded in narrow streets round the market-place. It seemed better to consent to dismantle the fort than to let the Moors take it as it stood. Inchiquin and the officers with him decided that the only thing to do was to arrange a truce, and three envoys—Captain Leslie, Lieutenant Fitzgerald, and Mr Luddington, a merchant—were sent to make terms with the Alcaïd.

A truce for four months was agreed to on humiliating terms.[1] All the ground taken in and fortified during the English Occupation of Tangier was to be given up, the work of eighteen years lost, and the English were to hold the place merely as the Portuguese had it. Pole and Norwood Forts were to be abandoned within three days; only Fountain, Cambridge, and Bridges Forts were to be maintained. On the other hand, the guns brought up by the Moors were to be removed and their batteries thrown down; no works nor trenches were to be made on either side during the truce. Liberty was given to the garrison "for grassing of cattel in the fields," and leave was afterwards obtained for horse and foot to ride or walk within wider bounds.

The treaty left the garrison in an impossible situation, and Fairborne sent home by express messenger to say that unless five hundred horse and four thousand foot could be despatched immediately, "His Majestie had better resolve to quit and leave both the Towne and Mole in a ruin." "The Enemy have not granted this concession of affection but designe," he warned the Secretary of State; the Moors had no thought but to renew their attack on the city, they would not consent to the repair of the fortifications, but "would give leave upon a small consideration to get stone for making the Mole, which shews they doe not yet think the Mole good enough for them."

"It is not to be believ'd that the Enemys will carry their guns far off," wrote Fairborne again; "they have 20 in

[1] Fairborne's Report of 21st May 1680 (C.O. 279, 25, f. 217.

all . . . which they show'd to Captain Leslie, besides the small mortar-piece, after which they had him into the mine they had made at Henrietta, which as he and Lieutenant Fitzgerald affirms is as ingeniously carryed on as ever they saw, at least 25 yards in whole rock with holes drilled to the top for aire and to know when they were under the fort, besides severall gallaryes made to sape under the wall. It seems when they blew it up it was from the sapeing and not from the mine as I formerely advised."

The principal engineers in the Moorish camp confidently undertook to undermine the Upper Castle in twenty days. The Moors considered the city as good as taken; they constantly walked about the sandhills within view of the town, and the British soldiers had to endure their taunts and insults as best they could. They stole one hundred and fifty sheep from the English lines, and harassed the garrison to the point of exasperation in many small ways, yet no retaliation was possible. Nothing could be done to strengthen the fortifications; the ruinous ramparts and parapets which were "in a very crazy position," had to be left as they were. It was said that Lord Inchiquin had agreed by a secret article that no gun should be moved, and no stone laid even on the town walls during the truce. The Barbary Jews were again admitted to the town, and reported everything to the Moors.

Early in June Lord Inchiquin was recalled home, and Sir Palmes Fairborne was again left in command.

News of the loss of the forts at length awakened the English Government to the gravity of the situation, and preparations were made during the spring and summer to fit out a strong relief force for Tangier.[1] It was ordered by the King and the Lords Commissioners that the strength of the garrison should be brought up to four thousand foot and six hundred horse, and Colonel Fairborne was advised by the Office of Ordnance that all his requests for stores of war would be complied with.

The Earl of Ossory,[2] "the Bayard of the English Court,"

[1] See chapter on "The Garrison," *infra.*

[2] Thomas Butler, Earl of Ossory, 1634-1680, eldest son of James, first Duke of Ormonde. He was imprisoned for eight months during the Protectorate on account of his Royalist sympathies; afterwards went to Holland, and returned to

was commissioned as Governor of Tangier, and Commander-in-Chief of the expedition.

It seems that Inchiquin, in order to excuse his own failure, assured the King and the Commissioners that the defence of Tangier would be impossible without an immense addition of strength to the garrison.[1] At any rate, the idea was spread by Sunderland that the force to be sent was wholly inadequate, and Ossory, a high-spirited and sensitive man, brooded deeply on the slight that seemed to be offered him. John Evelyn, his life-long friend, records that Sunderland told the King

"before Lord Ossory's face, that Tangier was not to be kept, but would certainly be lost, and yet added that 'twas fit Lord Ossory should be sent, that they might give some account of it to the world, meaning (as supposed) the next Parliament. . . . The King . . . resolving to send him with an incompetent force seemed, as his Lordship took it, to be willing to cast him away, not only on a hazardous adventure, but in most men's opinion an impossibility, seeing there was not to be above 3 or 400 horse and 4000 foot for the garrison and all, both to defend the town, form a camp, repulse the enemy and fortify what ground they should get in. This touched my Lord deeply that he should be so little considered as to put him on a business in which he should probably not only lose his reputation, but be charged with all the miscarriage and ill success, whereas they promised (at first) 6000 foot and 600 horse effective . . . It certainly took so deep root in his mind that he who was the most void of fear in the world (and assured me he would go to Tangier with ten men if his Majesty commanded him) could not bear up against this unkindness."[2]

England with Charles II. at the Restoration. In 1665 appointed Lieutenant-General of the army in Ireland; M.P. for Bristol. He greatly distinguished himself in the Dutch wars (1665 and 1672-1674). Ossory accompanied William of Orange on a campaign in the Netherlands, and was made General of the British forces in the pay of Holland in 1678. He was nominated to command the fleet sent against the pirates of Algiers in 1678, but his demands for men and ships were greater than the Treasury would grant, and Narborough was sent in his stead ("Dictionary of National Biography").

[1] F. Gwyn to Ormonde, 13th July 1680 (Ormonde MSS., Report, v. 346, new series).

[2] Evelyn, "Diary," 20th July 1680.

Ossory himself wrote to his father that Sunderland told him he could not defend Tangier without an augmentation of troops, which was impossible, but said that "if nothing were done the people in the streets would throw stones," to which Ossory answered "that if more men and treasure were employed upon a vain undertaking that ten for one would be cast at the advisers."[1]

The cynical cruelty of Sunderland's insinuations so preyed upon Ossory's mind, that his health completely broke down, and, after four days' illness, he died on 28th July. During his illness, "he raved much of Tangier, posting his men. attacking, retrenching and defending, then sighing heavily as in despair, more bewailing the loss of his peoples' lives than his own."[2]

The death of Ossory was deplored by all who knew him, for no one was more beloved at the English Court. It has been suggested that he was sacrificed to a desire on the part of Charles to satisfy public opinion, and that the expedition to Tangier was bound, and perhaps intended, to fail; yet there seems no real reason in this instance to doubt the sincerity of the King. Charles had a genuine regard for Ossory, and he was not in the habit of sacrificing personal feeling to public considerations. Tangier had been held for eighteen years with less than half the force now intended for the garrison, and no one in England realised the immense pressure that the recent consolidation of the Moorish Empire was bringing to bear on the foreign stations in Morocco. It may well have seemed to Charles that dishonesty and want of method were the worst enemies of Tangier, and that by sending out one of the most upright and distinguished men, and two thousand of the best soldiers in the country, he was doing all that he could to save the colony from its fate.

The promises of reinforcement made to Colonel Fairborne were not entirely fulfilled, but twelve more companies of the Earl of Dunbarton's regiment were sent from Ireland, and the "King's Battalion," six hundred strong, made up with

[1] Ossory to Ormonde, 6th July 1680. Ormonde MSS., Report, v. 344.

[2] Richard Mulys to Henry Gascoigne, 31st July 1680 (Ormonde MSS., v. 361).

companies from four regiments, was despatched under command of Colonel Sackville.[1]

"It rejoices me to see soe many brave men come over," wrote Fairborne. "I make noe doubt but their Lordships is prepareing stores of provisions suitable to the forces intended besides armes of all kinds." He had spent all his reserve funds on rebuilding the soldiers' quarters, and on "timber, nails, tools, pots, and charcoal," and requested that timber from England, "with all sortes of nailes, especially 10^{d} 20^{d} 24^{d} 30^{d}, of each 500,000, be forthwith sent before the horse comes and the rest of the recreutes, that there may be quarters prepared for them in order to preserve them in health when they are come over, for winter will be comeing on, and if they be too much exposed to the violence of the Raines at first it will destroy all the men."[2]

The work of rebuilding was carried out under the direction of Mr Shere, the engineer. With the first of the reinforcements, a number of volunteers from Court came out in the hope of seeing some fighting, including the Earl of Plymouth[3] and Lord Mordaunt.[4] While waiting for the expiration of the truce they filled up the time by embarking on Herbert's frigates in search of the Algerine pirates, who were suspected of joining forces with the Alcaïd Omar of Alcazar against Tangier. The vigilance of the Admiral, of whom Fairborne said, "I can neither pay him kindness enough nor respect sufficient," enabled the store-ships to come to port without injury from the pirates, and several successful encounters took place. Herbert also brought news of the enemy's doings, and reported overtures made by the French to Omar. This report was confirmed by Jewish spies, who informed

[1] Colonel Edward Sackville, Lieutenant-Colonel of a regiment of foot. Afterwards Lieutenant-Colonel of Coldstream Guards, Brigadier 1685, Major-General 1688. Dalton, "English Army Lists," i. 274.

[2] Fairborne to Sir L. Jenkins, 30th July 1680 (C.O. 279, 25, f. 298).

[3] Charles FitzCharles, Earl of Plymouth. Son of Charles II. and Catherine Pegge. Born about 1657; died at Tangier 17th October 1680, from a chill contracted on 21st or 22nd September, through sleeping in a roofless fort on a showery night, after the heat and excitement of a day's fighting ("Tanger's Rescue," by John Ross, p. 11). His body was escorted home by his friend, Lord Mordaunt, and buried in Westminster Abbey.

[4] Charles Mordaunt, afterwards well known as 3rd Earl of Peterburgh, nephew of Henry, 2nd Earl of Peterburgh, Governor of Tangier.

Fairborne that the French had concluded a treaty with the Alcaid,

"upon what terms I cannot learne onley the Jews doe Assure that the ffrench are to supply them with a considerable quantity of Powder and to suffer their Imbarcations to bring them all sort of necessaryes of war."[1]

Worse news still was that an English firm had been landing ammunition at Salli for the use of the Moors, and Fairborne said truly, "whilst the enemy can be supplied with powder and other stores from England it will be impossible to reduce these people to any reason."

While France took advantage of the difficulties of Tangier to come to terms with the Moors, the jealousy of Spain faded in the face of the danger which threatened her own African settlements no less than Tangier. Mâmora was besieged by a Moorish army, and the Spanish Government felt it was time to make common cause with the English garrison that formed so strong a link in the chain of European fortresses set round the North African coast.

Charles II., though committed to a policy of dependence upon Louis XIV., early in 1680 made overtures to Spain, Holland, and the Emperor, partly in order to conciliate public opinion in England, and partly in order that Louis should not value his friendship too lightly. Charles was anxious to come to an agreement with the Spaniards in the interests of Tangier, and on 10th June 1680, a treaty between England and Spain was signed at Windsor by the Spanish Ambassador, Don Pedro de Ronquillos.[2] In view of the pressing need of cavalry at Tangier, and the difficulty of transport from England, the King of Spain gave orders for two hundred Catalan horse to be put at Colonel Fairborne's disposal;[3] it was also arranged that

[1] Fairborne to Sir L. Jenkins, 7th August (C.O. 279, 26, f. 11).

[2] Sunderland to Sir H. Goodrich, 14th June 1680 (F.O. Entry Books, 187, f. 21). *Cf.* R. Lodge, "Political History of England," p. 171; *cf.* also Ormonde MSS., Report (Hist. MSS., Com.), v. 334, new series. Sir L. Jenkins to Ormonde, Whitehall, 12th June, mentioning a purely defensive alliance signed Thursday last between H.M. and the King of Spain.

[3] Sir H. Goodrich, Ambassador to Madrid, was directed to give thanks for this concession to his Catholic Majesty "in a formal audience or otherwise as you shall think best" (Sunderland to Goodrich, 5th July 1680, F.O. Entry Books, 187, f. 24).

horses might be bought in Spain for the use of the Tangier troopers.

The Governor of Andalusia was requested to send the Spanish troops to "a place they call Barbatt and Bologna Bay," which Herbert reported to be the most convenient point of embarkation. The Admiral sent ships over for their transport, and they arrived at Tangier just in time to do gallant service in a victory over the Moors won at the end of October.

From time to time tentative proposals of peace came in from the Alcaïd Omar. Fairborne reported: "The Alcade seems very inclinable to a peace and possible may really intend it, but at the same time I am informed he is in the field with 8000 men." There was some question of sending an ambassador to the Emperor to treat for peace. Fairborne remarked that in this case,

"it will be absolutely necessary that some present be made fitt for the Emperor of curious armes viz[t] Pistols, ffuzils, fine watches, clocks, fine cambricks fine Holland, fine broad-cloath, scarlet, green and violet, a fine cabinets table and stands, all which is to be by first ship to be ready upon the closure o' mal sent to the Emperor."[1]

There was, however, no diplomacy was fruitless, letters and propo[illegible] were exchanged with no result, and in the meantime the truce came to an end.

Early in September the Alcaid of Alcazar sent word that the cessation of arms would end with the new moon —a week sooner than Fairborne had calculated, and the Lieutenant-Governor immediately began preparations for a sortie in order to take in once more the lost ground and the sites of the ru[illegible]orts. On 6th September he wrote:—

"I am now a preparing everything in order to my going abroad at the end of the Cessation, but doe conclude I cannot march soe farr nor take in the Ground intended without the horse I have bin made to hope for. . . . The 8[th] instant I intend a council of war . . . and in the meane

[1] Fairborne to Sir L. Jenkins, 20th August 1680 (C.O. 279, 26, f. 43).

time have ordered Mr Shere to fitt me severall chevall de fries to secure our flanks at our first marching out, and under the protection of severall baggs of straw lodged within the chevall de frees I hope to secure our men pretty well from the enemies shot.

"I am alsoe removing Guns from the Battaryes at the Water side to the Castle, the better to anoy the enemye, and am also raiseing from Johnsons battary to Katharina Port where we shall place a battary of 17 great guns in ship carriadges, and the next worke in the towne shall be to fitt the wall for more great gunns between Katharina Port and Irish Battary, but we are in want of great gunns for the service."

On 15th September, at about seven in the morning, the Moors, having removed the boundary marks set for grazing-land during the truce,

"maide severall shott at our centrys from about the ruines of York Fort, uppon which we reply'd with our Cannon from the Castle, but they laying close (as their manner is) gave us little or n[illegible] asion of firing."[1]

Fairbo[illegible]chie[illegible]arly [illegible] to regain possession of Pole F[illegible]t, p[illegible] th[illegible]mpero[illegible] the town. He only awaited the arriv[illegible]e[illegible] [illegible] troopers to make a dash for the fo[illegible]an

The garris[illegible] was [illegible]n no mood to wait longer than they needs must to avenge the insults they had been forced to endure. Weary and dispirited as the men had been, the coming of fresh troops from home brought new hope to the minds of all. The Scotch Regiment and the King's Battalion were well-tried soldiers, who were spoiling to try their hand on the Moorish forces. In the Governor's Regiment Fairborne commanded [illegible] who, like himself, had passed their best years in t[illegible]efence of Tangier, and who had never had the chance of meeting the enemy on anything like equal terms. Now, at last, they felt that there might be an end to the long months of waiting for an enemy who always threatened, yet might never be

[1] Account by Henry Shere of events from 15/23rd September (C.O. 279, f. 26, 78).

attacked; the nights of tense watchfulness in the forts and trenches, when the vigilance of the guard must never slacken, yet not a shot might be fired; the irritation of an enforced confinement within narrow bounds; the long alert inaction that saps courage, and wears patience down to despair—all this now seemed to belong to the past, and the confidence of coming victory brought by the reinforcements gave back to the men of the old regiment the hopefulness and courage which some of them had nearly lost.

At last the *Swiftstakes* anchored in the bay with three troops of horse on board—only one hundred and thirty-five men in all, though four hundred or five hundred had been promised. The Lieutenant-Governor, on reporting their arrival, says:—

"Altho I had put all things in a very good readiness against the day to have sallyed out yet upon the arrivall of the horse and the severall stores, I judged it rationall to gett all the horse ashore and stores to have the horse new shod, haveing lost all their shoos aboard, as alsoe that they might feele their leggs, soe deferred my sallying out to possess myself of the ground where Pole Fort stood until the 20th instant, when I marched by breake of day and I thank God possest myself of Pole fort with the loss of 7 men and I believe 20 wounded."

This day's action, briefly recorded in Fairborne's despatch of 23rd September, is described with greater detail in other accounts. Early in the morning of the 20th, a scouting party led by the Governor, accompanied by Mr Shere and Lord Mordaunt, galloped first to Pole and then to Monmouth Fort, and to their surprise found both deserted by the enemy. Then, the horse and reserves having been disposed in good positions to cover the advance from a flank attack,[1] four

[1] "A Particular Relation of the Late Success of His Majestie's Forces at Tangier against the Moors." Published by Authority 1680 (583, i. 3, (4), Brit. Mus.). Lieutenant-Colonel Sackville commanded the Battalion of Guards on the right; to his left was a battalion of the Old Regiment of the garrison, under Captain Giles; to the left again were two battalions of the Scotch regiment under Major Hackett and Captain Spott (?), with a company of Grenadiers under Captain Hodges. Another battalion of the Old Regiment under Major Boynton was posted before Catherine Port. Five hundred seamen in five companies, one of

companies of foot marched out, and an advance guard of two hundred men, commanded by Colonel Tollemache, with the Earl of Plymouth and other volunteers, took possession of the ruins of Pole Fort.

The Moors were completely taken by surprise at this bold advance; they gathered hastily on the rising ground beyond the fort, and for a few moments stood motionless, watching the British soldiers as they began to make entrenchments under the direction of Major Beckman. Then suddenly they opened the attack, but Fairborne's men, encouraged by the Governor himself riding about the lines, went steadily on with the work in spite of a galling fire from the old line which ran from James to Monmouth Fort. As the Moors pressed forward, detachments of the King's Battalion and the Old Regiment were commanded to Anne and Kendal Forts, and small parties of musketeers drawn from the several regiments were sent from two hours to two hours to their relief. In the face of a heavy musketry fire, the Moors fought their way with great determination to their old lines, only to be beaten back from trench to trench by the furious charges of Herbert's seamen and the hand-grenades of Captain Hodges "brave Scottish boys," which took deadly effect among the enemy.

After seven or eight hours' fighting, the Moors slowly gave ground, and the work of entrenchment continued until nightfall, the guard of musketeers picking out the red fezzes worn by some of the enemy's troops every time an unwary head showed itself above the lines. At eight o'clock the English forces retired unhindered into the town, leaving five hundred men to guard the fort under the command of Colonel Sackville.

The Lieutenant-Governor spoke in high praise of the officers under his command, specially commending to the King's favour "Major Beckman the engineer, an able man in his profession and a valiant steady man," Colonel Sackville and Colonel Tollemache, and also some of the

grenadiers, held the line from the south-east point of the town to Cambridge Fort. "Tanger's Rescue," puts the number of seamen at six hundred; Fairborne's despatch, however, gives five hundred as their number. The latter is probably correct.

volunteers, "more especially the Earle of Plimouth who would not let slip any action either on horseback or foot where he would not be present," and "Lord Mordaunt, noe man braver."

He also spoke highly of Admiral Herbert and his contingent, of whom another writer says:—

"The heroick Admiral of the Mediterranean, brave Admiral Herbert, increased addition of terrour and multiplied horrour to the Mores by putting ashore 600 seaman, excelling in strength and courage, nothing inferior to the Mores (the most agile people in the world) in agility and activity of body. . . . The noble Admiral (this age not producing a finer man, both in courage and conduct) always charging on their heads himself. He commanded his men to be exercised by an expert old souldier, Captain Barclay, whom he made their Major, rebuking him sharply one day for suffering the seamens too forward and furious advancement, lest thereby they might fall into the enemies' Ambushments; he answered, he could lead them on, but the furies could not bring them off."[1]

On the 21st some of the enemies' outposts were captured, and lines were raised to screen Pole Fort from their fire; on the 22nd the Moors made a determined effort to dislodge the British troops. There was "very hot service" on both sides, firing continued all day, and many an act of conspicuous gallantry was added to the records of both the attacking and defending forces.

A charge of the Moorish horse was gallantly repulsed, the English and Spanish cavalry were constantly in action, and again and again turned the flanking movements attempted by the Moors against the advance of the infantry. Herbert's grenadiers were posted at Monmouth Fort, and the rest of the naval contingent with the Scottish regiment were engaged in a hand-to-hand fight in the enemies' trenches, and made many a daring attempt to bring off the Moorish standards. The Scottish grenadiers, "very active

[1] "Tanger's Rescue," by John Ross (1680). Colonel Sackville afterwards made many complaints against Herbert, speaking of his "endeavours to ruin Tangier." His vague accusations, however, appear to have been the outcome of a personal quarrel.

and daring men," threw their grenades with great boldness and effect, but met with disaster through their inexperience of the Moorish methods of ambuscade. Some of them

"advanced to the sandhills a little too farr, where, mixing with the enemy, they were cutt in pieces, and others advancing to fetch off the dead were much hurt in the attempt."[1]

In the evening, when the troops retired into the town, a strong force of the enemy assaulted the rear-guard, but was dispersed by a charge of Major Hackett's troop of horse. The rear-guard, composed of detachments of the seamen and the Scotch regiment, faced about, and, the Moors "finding they had caught the wrong Pig by the ears," retreated; the British officers with difficulty keeping their men back from the pursuit, for fear they should fall into an ambush in the darkness.

For a week or more the garrison marched out early in the morning, and after a day's hard work on the forts and lines, and hot fighting at the outposts, retired into the town for the night. The Moors still bent their chief efforts against Pole Fort, and did all they could to interrupt the works. They made several attempts to storm the fort by night, and raised two batteries against it.

Another gun placed near Charles Fort by the enemy was put out of action by artillery-fire from Peterburgh Tower. The Moors then moved one of their great guns to the south of Charles Fort, and trained it on the Governor's house; some ball went through the walls, "frighting the ladies." They also placed a battery of three guns on the sandhills overlooking the harbour, in order to harass the landing of men and stores; but these "proved to no effect save a poor cook's broath on the Mole they battered off the fire."[2]

Meanwhile, the English works at Pole Fort continued, in spite of the heavy rain, which now began to add to the difficulties of entrenching. The fort was palisaded with

[1] Shere's account (C.O. 279, 26, f. 78-79, 23rd September 1680).

[2] "Tanger's Rescue."

stockades pointing inwards at an angle of forty-five, and by 7th October Major Beckman reported that "the upper rampart was cannon-proof almost all round, and he hoped that cannon would be mounted within the week."[1]

On the same day, 7th October, a Moor came in with a flag of truce bringing "a very insolent and impertinent letter from the Alcayde." The Moors proposed a renewal of peace, but demanded the evacuation of Pole Fort, and their offers were abruptly refused. Fairborne carried on the defence with untiring energy, and was always to be found at the point of danger. He headed sorties, and rode about the lines constantly under fire to encourage the men, always riding the same horse, though the Moors recognised him and fired at him again and again. At last, on the evening of 24th October, a well-aimed bullet found its mark, and Sir Palmes Fairborne, who had

"all along demean'd himselfe with the prudence and bravery as became a man of his post and official ability for this service, was from a lyne of the Enemyes unfortunately shot in the body as he was giving directions for breaking of ground upon a little eminence to the left of the Spurr under Peterborow Tower, by which worke he designed to amuse the enemy by putting them in apprehension wee intended something extraordinary on that ground."[2]

This misfortune was a grievous loss to the garrison, for it was soon seen that the Commander-in-Chief was mortally wounded, and could live only a few days. While the work he had been directing proceeded, the enemy made "a very bold sally" from their old trenches near Fort Charles,

"which the Spanish officer at the head of the Horse observing, very bravely charg'd them and forced them back into their trenches, pursuing them to their very lyne, from whence in his retreat they much galled him, killing him both men and horses, and makeing a second sally with a greater number, some of their horse being come up likewise to reinforce them, which soe little discourag'd the Spanyards that they renew'd

[1] Dartmouth MSS. Report, i. 52.

[2] Shere's account (C.O. 279, 26, f. 96, 24th October 1680

the charge and forc'd them a second time into their trenches, and retired and drew up upon the ground where they were first posted."[1]

In this short but brilliant engagement the Spanish Horse made the reputation which they maintained throughout their stay at Tangier.

The Moors continued the siege with the greatest determination; they brought up cannon to within pistol-shot of Pole Fort, and succceeded in digging trenches so near its walls that they were able to begin a mine with the object of blowing up the fort.

Colonel Sackville, who succeeded Fairborne in the command of the garrison, found that immediate action was necessary to save the fort and the town, and called a Council of War on 25th October to consider what could be done to raise the siege.

At last, after many years of prudence, counsels of a bold policy prevailed, and it was resolved to make a general sally from the town on Wednesday, the 27th, with the whole strength of the garrison.

Barely one thousand five hundred foot could be mustered, including the naval contingent, and about three hundred horse, for sickness and fever, due to exposure in the trenches during the rains, had done their work in diminishing the numbers of the garrison as surely as the bullets and lances of the Moors. Sackville's decision could not but cost further severe losses, yet it was justified by success, and afforded one of the many illustrations to be found in the history of British warfare against uncivilised tribes, of "the great principle that counter-attack is the salt of life to all successful defences."

By three o'clock in the morning the garrison was under arms and drawn up in silence, six battalions strong, with the horse in seven troops. Sackville, having made his general dispositions, and appointed an orderly from every battalion, addressed the troops. He thought it necessary, from one or two incidents of the past few days, to reprimand Inchiquin's regiment for want of courage, and to threaten death to any man who should run away. The reproach went

[1] Shere's account (C.O. 279, 26, f. 93-100, 24th October 1680).

home, and in the fighting that followed, the old regiment more than retrieved its reputation.

"To amuse and divert the enemy," about fifty men on horses belonging to the Mole, were ordered to march to Peterburgh Tower, with the town Militia under Captain Mackenny; here several colours were pitched, and the drums beat "a strong alarum." On the other side of the bay, where the enemy had seven or eight guns, Admiral Herbert ordered out all the boats of the fleet "with Wast-clothes and colours" to make a feigned attack. These tactics had the effect of drawing off a considerable number of the enemy, who expended much of their ammunition in firing at the boats. Besides the general sortie, the garrison of Pole Fort, about one hundred and fifty men, was ordered to attack the nearest trenches and gallery.

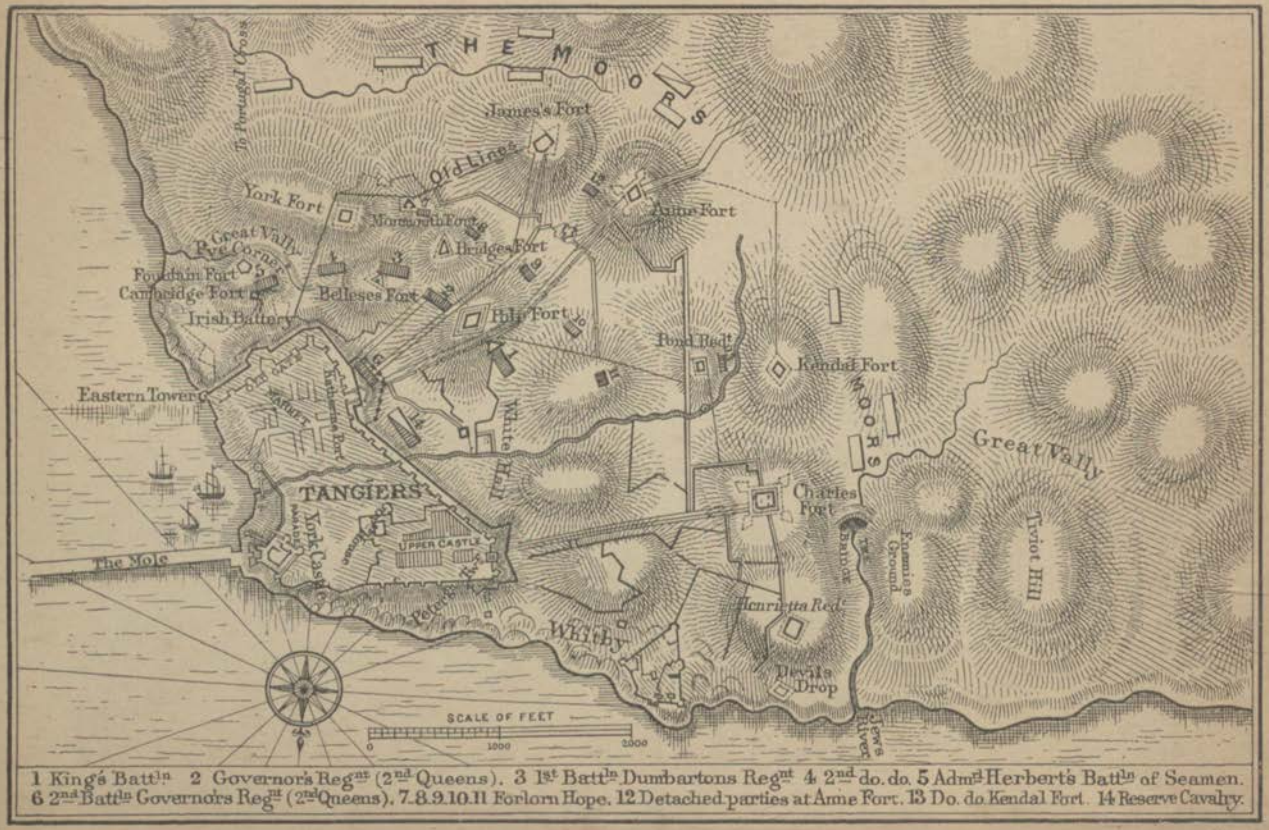
The horse advanced first out of Catherine Port, and drew up in the stockade, and then the foot, all so silently that the enemy did not take alarm till nearly all were drawn up. Colonel Sackville then signalled to Pole Fort, whence the first attack was to be made, and the garrison of the fort marched out, Major Beckman accompanying them to direct the demolition of the mine and gallery. Shere, in his account of the battle, says:—

"The Attacque prov'd a very hott and bloody piece of service, as well by reason of the Enemyes having a greater guard there than ordinary as through the slow march of the Partyes that were appointed for their Reserve. The two Captains (Lundy and Hume) which commanded were imediately carry'd off ill-wounded as were most of the other officers amongst which Lieu[t] Robinson, a very brave young man, and had not the Reserve come timely to their Reliefe that Party had run great hazard of being all cut off."

The main body now came into action—

"The Scots and their Granadeers charged first (if there was any time at all between their charging, for like fire and lightning all went to it at once) stoutly seconded by the Seamen, Inchiquin's regiment most resolutely assisting, the English and Spanish horse behaving themselves to Admiration." [1]

[1] "Tanger's Rescue."



1 King's Batt[la] 2 Governor's Reg[mt] (2nd Queens). 3 1st Batt[la] Dumbartons Reg[mt] 4 2nd do. do. 5 Adm[l] Herbert's Batt[la] of Seamen. 6 2nd Batt[la] Governor's Reg[mt] (2nd Queens). 7.8.9.10.11 Forlorn Hope. 12 Detached parties at Anne Fort. 13 Do. do. Kendal Fort. 14 Reserve Cavalry.

THE GROUND AND FORTS ROUND TANGIER, 1680.

SHOWING THE POSITION OF THE TROOPS AT THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE FIGHT ON 27TH OCTOBER 1680.

[To face p. 104

"By this time the whole party was engaged, the enemy very stubbornly disputing every line and trench wherein wee attacqued them, comeing to push of pike and handy blowes in severall places."[1]

The Moors fought gallantly, but they could not stand against the charge of the British troops, who for almost the first time had the opportunity of discovering that the Arab is far less formidable when attacked than attacking. Cheering as they gained each new trench, the men drove back the enemy at the pike's point; the grenadiers did splendid service, Captain Hodges with firelock and granado-bag charging at their head. The great guns on the city walls were fired now and again, but the chief honours of the day were shared by the English and Spanish Horse, who charged the Moorish cavalry with great dash and gallantry whenever the latter attempted to come to the support of their foot in the trenches.

"The particularityes of every Action that occurr'd is hard to set downe," wrote Shere, "but after wee had beaten them from their new trenches and were advanc'd to the old Lyne whereon our Forts formerly stood (which was attain'd with great losse on our side) one of the Battalions of my Lord Insiquines regiment haveing not above 50 men left upon the spott, at length by levelling the trenches wee made a passage for our horse (without whose assistance nothing memorable would have been perform'd) through which Captain Neatby with his troope advanc'd upon the Enemy, as did likewise Don Salvador di Monforty & Don Manrique de Moronia with theirs, who found a passage a little more to the right, upon which the Enemy turn'd their backs and betooke themselves to flight from all quarters, being pursued by both Horse and Foot who made very great slaughter amongst them. Many of their horse performed very dareingly for the rescue of their Foot, amongst which severall of their Principall men likewise fell. Wee pursued them scatter'd like sheep on the Mountaines at least a mile into the Country, killing severall of them in their very Camp among their Tents."

As soon as the garrison returned from the pursuit, work

[1] Shere's account.

was begun on the old line between James and Monmouth Forts, where, says Shere,

"wee fell to filling and levelling their trenches, wherein wee buryed many of their dead who very bravely lost their lives in the defence of them." Another piece of ground was taken in, "which wee fortifyed with a good Stockade from whence we discover the Bottome where the enemy before lay in covert from the Fort and where they had begun their gallery in order to their mine, which about 3 of the clocke was finish'd and then wee retreated and march'd into the Towne in very good order, the Enemy contrary to their custome permitting us to retire without any dispute."

Sir Palmes Fairborne, who had been carried out in a chair onto his balcony to watch the fight, lived just long enough to hear and rejoice in the story of the day's success, saying that his only regret was that in all his wars and encounters with the Moors, he had not had the happiness to obtain over them so glorious a victory.[1]

"He was a very worthy, able and brave officer," wrote Shere, who knew him well, "who had made it his speciall study to qualify himselfe for his Majestys service here where he had been an officer for neare 18 yeares, and I am oblig'd in Justice to his memory to averr that (I believe at least) his Majesty had not a subject in his three kingdoms of more proper qualification for this post."

"This my Lord is the Summe of what hath pass'd since wee first took the field," added Shere in conclusion of his narrative,[2] "and I thinke history can scarce furnish us with

[1] John Ross ("Tanger's Rescue") attributes to Fairborne an elaborately composed farewell speech, quoted by Colonel Davis, *op. cit.*, p. 176. A mural monument was erected to his memory in Westminster Abbey, by his widow, and inscribed with a pompously eulogistic epitaph, ascribed to Dryden. The King granted to his widow, "Dame Margery Fairborne," a pension of £500 a year for life (Patent Rolls Index, 33 Car. 2, 55, P.R.O.), but this was irregularly paid (*cf.* petition of Sir Stafford Fairborne for payment of arrears due on his mother's pension, Cal. of Treasury Papers, 1702-7, p. 185). Stafford Fairborne, eldest son of Sir Palmes, held a commission as ensign in the Tangier Regiment of Foot (Dalton, *op. cit.*, i. 202, 220 241,), but afterwards entered the Navy (1685) and served against the Mediterranean corsairs. He was knighted in 1701, and became Admiral of the Fleet in 1708. Died in 1742.

[2] Shere's account of the siege (C.O. 279, 26, f. 93-100) was written at the request of Colonel Sackville, and sent home by Colonel Tollemache, directed to Sunderland, Secretary of State, 30th October 1680 (C.O. 279, 26, f. 188). Shere

an example of a Towne in a forraigne Prince's Dominions, remote from succour, prosecuted and beseig'd for a whole yeare together by a vigilant, industrious and dareing enemy, encouraged by successe in all their attempts, that wee should at length with a handfull of men take the field, repossess and fortify an eminent post they had taken from us, give them battle, defeat them, taking their canon, colours, prisoners, levell and demolish their workes and trenches and pursue them to their very camp. . . . Nothing but Divine providence and protection could have brought soe great a worke to passe."

After the battle Colonel Sackville commanded that those of the enemies dead who had not been buried in the levelled trenches should be brought to the stockade at Catherine Port. About forty bodies were brought up, and Sackville wrote to the Alcaïd giving him leave to fetch them away, and apologising for "their heads being all cutt off, wherein noe order whatsoever could restrain the souldiers, many of their comrades having been formerly treated with the like barbarity." The apology was received by the Alcaïd without comment, and three or four of the English dead were sent in by him in return.

The casualties of the garrison were seven officers and ninety men killed, and twenty-four officers and three hundred and forty-eight men wounded; nearly one hundred horses were killed or injured.[1] The losses of the enemy were not known; the estimated numbers vary from five hundred or six hundred to two thousand. Sackville afterwards reported them to be probably about one thousand "besides Mounteniers (Berbers) which they doe not reckon." Two or three cannon were captured from the Moors, and four or five colours. The British casualties from 20th September to 27th October were said to be between six and seven hundred; those of the Moors two thousand or more.

was at Pole Fort on 27th October, and was "himself a principal instrument both by his valour and advice of the victory we obtained." His account was published under the title of "A particular Narrative of a Great Engagement between the Garrison of Tangier and the Moors" (Brit. Mus., 583. i. 3, (5.)).

[1] C.O. 279, 26, f. 100. Colonel Davis, *op. cit.*, p. 180, gives slightly different figures.

CHAPTER XI

COLONEL KIRKE AND MULAÏ ISMÀÏL—1681

THE victory was speedily followed by overtures from the Alcaid of Alcazar, who proposed a treaty of peace for six months, or an armistice for two months. Several considerations led Colonel Sackville to accept the former alternative on his own responsibility. Half the garrison was, or ought to have been, in hospital; there was urgent need of the fresh provisions only obtainable in time of peace. Even with the assistance of a newly-raised regiment of foot, now on its way to Tangier, it would have been impossible in two months to put the place in an effective state of defence against a second prolonged siege. Admiral Herbert, too, was in need of time to clean his ships, the better "to pursue his Majesty's service against the Algerines, this being the most probable season wherein they can be most molested."

The terms offered by Omar included freedom of trade and protection of traders in Morocco, facilities for grazing, foraging, wood-cutting, stone-quarrying, hunting, and fishing. The Moors agreed to bring in to Tangier for sale each month one hundred head of cattle, two hundred sheep and one thousand fowls, with fruits.

In return for these advantages Omar demanded a yearly tribute of muskets, gun-powder, and cloth, and insisted that no fortifications should be built outside the town wall of Tangier.[1]

[1] There are two versions of this treaty, one being apparently an expansion of the other; the articles are differently numbered in each, but the terms are substantially the same. The first is dated 6/16th November 1680 (C.O., 279, 26, f. 259), the second, 25th November, ratified 3rd January (Add. MSS., 17021, ff. 49, 52). Colonel Davis, *op. cit.*, i. 181, 182, gives a summary of the second version, taken from the Dartmouth MSS. (*cf.* Dartmouth MSS., Hist. MSS., Com. Rep., iii. 51).

On this basis Sackville concluded peace, stipulating only that his treaty should be subject to the approval of an Ambassador who was momentarily expected with instructions from the King of England.

Hostilities no sooner ceased than free intercourse took place between the English and Moorish camps. The Moors brought in provisions, and friendly bargains were made with the garrison, and Omar sent in presents of river-fish, venison, and wild boar to the officers, many of whom he professed to hold in great esteem, having witnessed their valour in the recent battle. English relations with the Moors were often strained after this time, but the fighting of the past month bred a mutual respect between many individuals which seemed to presage the possibility of a lasting peace.

The Ambassador from England, who arrived at Tangier in the middle of December 1680, was Captain Leslie, of the old Tangier regiment,[1] who had more than once been employed as envoy to the Moors, and who was knighted on purpose to qualify him for the post of Ambassador. His new title, however, was not sufficiently exalted to commend him to the Moors, whose vanity was hurt by the arrival of a mere soldier of the garrison, instead of the Ambassador of high rank whom they considered their due.

Leslie was much disconcerted to find that Sackville had frustrated his own diplomatic campaign by agreeing to the limitation of boundaries and fortifications. It had been represented to the Commissioners that without strong outposts the defence of Tangier was impossible, now that the Moors had learned the use of artillery, for the town itself could be easily commanded from the neighbouring sandhills. They therefore impressed upon Leslie the paramount importance of including in the terms of peace an article allowing ground for fortification at least on the old lines, and Leslie justly feared that Sackville's precipitate concession would be

[1] Cornet in the Tangier Horse, 1664; Captain in Middleton's regiment of foot (old Tangier Regiment), 1674; Major, 10th November 1680; Lieutenant-Colonel, 1687; Colonel of a regiment (now 15th foot), 1688; cashiered in 1695 for agreeing to surrender of Dixmude (Dalton, "English Army Lists," i. 177). He is alluded to as having been a "private trooper" at Tangier. Sackville to Sunderland, 1st January 1680/1 (C.O., 279, 27, f. 7).

an effectual barrier to the better terms he was instructed to demand. Sackville, in his own defence, urged that it would be impossible to gain more ground by treaty "while there was a Moor alive in Africa," "the name of ground being poison to the Alcayd"; by war alone could it be won, and how, he asked, could it be kept so long as Tangier remained without materials to fortify or men to garrison the place? He had not long come from home, and knew that the royal revenues would hardly be able to support the expense of renewed war against Ismâïl's forces. "Had they the discipline of Europe there would not be a more formidable enemy in the world," he said, "vigilant, hardy, patient, laborious."

Leslie nevertheless attempted to carry out his orders, and held several private conferences with Omar, hoping to settle a satisfactory basis for negotiations, and to gain an idea of the temper of the Moroccan Court before proceeding on his embassy.

The Alcaïd received him with a great show of courtesy, but his pride was ruffled, says Sackville, by Leslie's "huffing and big words," and at the first mention of more land to fortify he broke into violent anger, and threatened an immediate renewal of war. In spite of his recent severe defeat at the hands of the garrison, this was no empty boast, for he still had behind him the whole weight of the Moorish Empire. He knew the immense military strength commanded by Mulaï Ismâïl; he knew, too, the violent temper of the Emperor, and dared not for his life agree to terms which his master might resent.

Meanwhile the Emperor grew impatient, and commanded Omar to conduct the Ambassador at once to his court. This placed Leslie and the Alcaïd also on the horns of a dilemma. Any delay would be regarded by the Emperor as an insult, but to proceed without fitting gifts and equipage was not to be thought of. "I canot but feare it is the presents he (Ismâïl) aymes at more than anything else," wrote Leslie, and meanwhile the *Kingfisher*, in which the desired presents were sent from England, had not yet been sighted, and the stormy weather made the date of her arrival very uncertain.

In this difficulty the Alcaïd proposed that Colonel

Kirke[1] should accompany him to Mequinez, as an envoy from the Ambassador, to explain and apologise for his delay. This suggestion was complied with, and Kirke, with a letter from Leslie to the Emperor, set out with Omar early in January on what proved to be a very pleasant excursion into the country, which was still almost unknown to the garrison of Tangier.

Kirke evidently expected the Moors to be no more than savages, and was agreeably surprised to find them a pleasant and courteous people, with whom lavish hospitality was a sacred duty, and the language of extravagant compliment the only usage towards a guest. Kirke accepted their presents and pretty speeches in all good faith, and though in a few months his opinion of the Moors underwent a complete change, his first experiences called forth the most enthusiastic praise of his hosts.

His letters afford an interesting glimpse of the expedition to Ismâïl's Court. He wrote to Sackville from the Alcaïd's camp on 10th January:—

"I am among the most sevilisde pepell (civilised people) in the worlde and iff ever I have a sone I will rether choose to send him hether for breadin then to the Corte of France. . . . I never had that kindnes mixt with sevelety (civility) and trewe frindship. . . . Wee have in a prodigall manner more meate than wee can tell what to doe withall . . .

[1] Percy (or Piercy) Kirke (1646 (?) -1691). His father was Gentleman of the Robes to Charles I., and Groom of the Chamber and Keeper of Whitehall Palace under Charles II. Percy Kirke was in 1666 appointed ensign in "My lord Admiral's regiment," afterwards subaltern in the Earl of Oxford's (his brother-in-law's) regiment, the Blues. He married Lady Mary Howard, daughter of the Earl of Suffolk. He was present at the campaigns in Flanders between 1673-1676. In 1680 he was appointed Lieutenant-Colonel, and on 27th November Colonel of the 2nd Regiment of Foot raised for Tangier (4th King's Own (Royal Lancaster) Regiment); Governor of Tangier 1682; and Colonel of the Old Tangier Regiment (2nd Queen's), 19th April 1682: 4th July 1684 he was made Brigadier-General, and with both Tangerine regiments was present at the battle of Sedgmoor in 1685. He suppressed Monmouth's revolt in the West of England, and acted with great severity, though the account of his atrocities has been much exaggerated. In 1688 Kirke was made Major-General by William III.; in 1689 he served in Ireland and became Governor of Londonderry; in 1690 he made a campaign in Flanders, and died at Brussels 31st October 1691 ("Dictionary of National Biography"; Dalton, "English Army Lists," i.; Davis, "Hist. of 2nd Queen's Regiment," i. and ii.).

for sports wee have all manner of huntin and shutin, wee have bin this too dayes near St Rach (Laraiche?) a huntin the Boores and Antelopes and to worke goe to Alcires (Alcazar?) where the Allcade intendes to stay a weake or 10 dayes . . . all the partriges hares antelopes etc., that the allcade or anybody killes is broght to our tentes."[1]

After some delay at Alcazar, arranged by Omar in the vain hope that the accredited Ambassador would be enabled to leave Tangier in time to accompany him to the Court, Kirke was conducted to the Emperor at Mequinez. He reported his arrival to Sackville, who wrote on 26th February:—

"Colonel Kirke has been receivd with all the demonstrations of kindness and civility Immaginable at that Court, the Emperour telling him that for his sake (since he had pleased to come to waite on him) he would give him foure yeares peace for Tanger, and swore, by God, that as long as I was Governour here, he would cutt off the Alcaydes head if he gave us any the least suspicion of a breach of peace, and that wee needed not to make complaint for tha hee would have spyes to informe him if any injury were offer'd us."[2]

The Emperor Mulaï Ismâïl, who received Colonel Kirke with unwonted favour, was the most successful tyrant who ever sat on the throne of Morocco. He had celebrated the beginning of his reign nine years earlier by sending ten thousand heads of men, women, and children, killed in the camp of Ahmad, his rebel nephew, to adorn the walls of Fez and Marrákesh, and by making a bridge for his victorious army with the bodies of his prisoners of war interwoven with rushes.[3]

For fifty-five years Ismaïl reigned over Morocco, holding his empire together by sheer force of a strong and tyrannical will. Public life and property were safer during his reign

[1] Kirke to Sackville, 10th anuary 1680/1 (C.O. 279, 27, f. 19). Most of Kirke's letters were written by a secretary and signed by himself, but those written during his expedition to Mequinez appear to be in his own hand.

[2] Colonel Sackville to Sir H. Goodrich, 26th February 1680/1 (C.O. 279, 27, f. 143).

[3] "Windhus' Journey to Mequinez" (Pinkerton's "Voyages," xv. 470:) Budgett Meakin, "The Moorish Empire," p. 139.

than they had ever been before, for he was "determined to be a monopolist in villainy," and would tolerate no crimes but his own. The roads were cleared of robbers, and the oppression practised by provincial rulers was a little restrained, or at least concealed, by dread of the Emperor's displeasure. The fame of his army made Ismâïl's name feared by unruly tribes, and respected by foreign kings. His subjects regarded him with admiration and awe, and the Courts of Europe treated him with a show of deference which almost justified his unbounded self-conceit and the insolence of his behaviour towards the foreigners whom he thoroughly despised.

His successful attempts against the Christian garrisons in Africa increased his reputation as the true representative and descendant of Mohammed, the deliverer of Morocco from the infidel and the defender of the faith of the Prophet. He was treacherous, hypocritical, cunning, licentious, savage in temper, and indescribably cruel, yet his memory lives in his own country as that of a wise and religious monarch, the "Sun of the Earth" and the "Sword of Victory," which God had drawn from its sheath, and "for whom all created beings would not suffice as a ransom."[1] He maintained his religious reputation by a minute observance of ceremonial, and by many public prayers; a copy of the Korán was always carried before him, and when it pleased him to kill any of his subjects or slaves the deed was supposed to be done by divine inspiration. Murder was his favourite amusement, and all criminals were brought to him for execution. One of the members of Kirke's mission afterwards wrote of him:—

"He excels all mankind in barbarous and bloody actions, massacre and murder being his Royal game and divertisement, which, that it may not cloy his Majesty in one kind, he invents every day a new pastime of cruelty."[2]

Scarcely a day passed without the death of some of Ismâïl's slaves at his own hand, though Friday was the

[1] Budgett Meakin, "The Moorish Empire," p. 161.

[2] "The Last Account from Fez," in a letter from one of the Embassy, p. 2 (583 i. 3 (8), Brit. Mus.).

day specially appointed for his murders. His mood was indicated by his robes—yellow being the death colour. He was sometimes known to spear twenty or thirty negroes one after the other for no reason; he would kill a slave to test the edge of a new weapon. In one day he strangled thirty women of his harem; the lives of his own sons were not safe from him, and even his animals did not escape his barbarity. On one occasion a favourite cat, having stolen a rabbit, was tied to a mule's tail and dragged to death by his orders. The tortures he invented and inflicted on his victims would be incredible were they not fully attested.[1]

In spite of his hatred of foreigners, Ismâïl took a capricious liking for Colonel Kirke, and during the time of the English Embassy he seems to have hidden his usual ferocity under the dignified courtesy which he could easily assume; after three weeks spent at his Court Kirke could write: "I must tell the holle worlde I have mett with a kinde prince and a just generall in Barberey."

On his arrival at Mequinez, Kirke

"was received by the King in his garden, being accompanied only with four of his chiefest councillors and Alcades, his Bashaws and General officers of the army waiting at the gates with the Guards. After he had delivered his letters and made his complement, the King returned more favourable answers than could be expected from a Prince so haughty, that his person is very rarely accessible by any body; he told him that in return of the honour he did him in his complement he would grant him 4 years Peace, and if by his spyes he could be informed of a breach committed by his officers, he would punish them with extream severity."[2]

The royal palace at Mequinez "the Versailles of this kingdom" was said by a member of the British mission to be

"extreamly delightful, their walks being adorned with rows of Orange Trees, that grew through a pleasant and glittering

[1] Budgett Meakin, "The Moorish Empire," pp. 142-144. *Cf.* "The Captivity of Thomas Phelps" ("Harleian Collection of Voyages," ii. 503); and "Windhus' Journey to Mequinez" Pinkerton's "Voyages," xv. 485); and "The Last Account from Fez."

[2] "The Last Account from Fez"

pavement of painted tiles, the Aqueducts and Canals of water springing in the middle represent a pleasant and most beautiful scene and charming prospect."[1]

After receiving his guests, the Emperor mounted his horse, and at the head of his Guards drew towards a plain, "to show them an example of horsemanship . . . like prison-base on horse-back." The best of his horses "for shape and speed were certainly the most noble and rarest kind in the world."

Ismâïl was now preparing to leave Mequinez on a punitive expedition against his nephew Ahmad, and was unwilling to await the arrival of the expected English Ambassador. On 10th March Kirke wrote to Sackville as follows:—

"MECCANES.

"SIR,—Just now I received a message from Allcade Ommer who ses he has writ to you to lett know the Emperior goes into the fildes (field) 13 dayes hence without faile, and iff the Embasidor dunnot com in that time he will not see him. I cant imagion what Sir James Lesley meanes to make the Emperior stay so long for him, and iff he knew how hard a fare I have had to gitt him leave to com att all he would make more hast, and I doe assuer you upon my worde iff the Emperior had not more respect to you and kindnes to me upon your accounte, Sir James and his presentes would have never been admitted to Meccaness, for the Allcade has not dun only justly but so generusley by me that he's put me so well in the King's favour that I am asham'd to tell how well I am us'd and how many kinde thinges sead to me every day."[2]

Kirke added that he could gain no more time, and unless Leslie came at once, the Moors would begin to mistrust the good faith of the English.

In the meantime the Emperor permitted Kirke and his companions to make a three days' visit to Fez, under the escort of the Alcaïd Omar, who treated them with every civility and presented Kirke with a little English

[1] "The Last Account from Fez."

[2] Kirke to Sackville, 10th March 1681 (C.O. 279, 27, ff. 172-175).

boy, for whom he said he had refused three hundred dollars a month before.

"At Fez," writes Kirke, "wee were receiv'd by our once friends the Jewes, with a very good house and a good supper and an officer of the young princes, who sent us a guard of renegadoes and desired to see us.

"The next day we wated upon his highnes . . . he is but 7 years olde[1] so wee had not much discorce, hee told us wee mought see the house and towne when wee would, so the Alcade of olde Fess invited us to dener, the relation of which Cap[t] Johnson has writ."

Captain Johnson's account here alluded to, is probably the anonymous "The Last Account from Fez," in which the writer says that old Fez showed signs of former splendour, though everything was much neglected. The residence of the Governor of Fez, he continues, was very splendid,

"the inward Courts of his house delighted us extreamly the canale and the water works with rows of orange trees not being much unequal to the beauty of the King's Pallace; our cheer was extraordinary plentiful and pleasant after their manner, and served by the Officers of his Guard with all manner of grandeur. When we entred the House we were extreamly delighted, it being furnished with carpets and hangings after the richest Turkey fashion. The Governour and chief Magistrate of the City, after waiting our Dinner time, sate doun to a collation of their own, our table and stools being both equal on the ground, and with brimmers of pure Element we made a sober conclusion of our entertainment."

At Fez the party was shown the famous stables built by Mulaï Ismâïl,

"the largest and most stately stable I ever saw for length and breadth, capable to hold above 200 Horses and supported with lofty Pillars of at least 50 foot high, being refreshed and cooled by artificial vaults of water underneath."[2]

[1] "The Last Account from Fez" says twelve years. The boy was the son of the Emperor Ismâïl by "a renegade Christian Sultaness."

[2] "The Last Account from Fez." *Cf.* Budgett Meakin, "The Moorish Empire," 150. According to a native historian, El Zaiáni, cited by Budgett Meakin, the stables were 3 miles long and contained twelve thousand horses.

On his return to Mequinez Kirke had another interview with the Emperor, who "discoursed very morally of trust and honour," and invited the Colonel to adopt the Mohammedan religion, saying that he loved him and would be his friend, "for I had dun that never Christian had dun before, which was to trust him," wrote Kirke, "and for that reason he swore thare never should be Bullet shot against Tangier so long as I was in itt." In return for his favour he requested Kirke to get him ten more guns, and to "help him with everything he lacked out of England," reminding him of the good correspondence that existed between England and Morocco in the time of Queen Elizabeth.

Sir James Leslie did not leave Tangier till 9th March, arriving at the Moorish Court on the 20th. He had by this time received fresh instructions from the Tangier Committee to the effect that it was held of absolute necessity to stipulate for the fortification of the walls, and the security of the ditch without the wall, but rather than absolutely break, he had liberty not to insist on ground for fortifying outside the ditch, but he was to use his best endeavour.[1] He was given also a memorandum drawn up by the Mayor and Corporation of Tangier, requesting him to arrange with the Moors various points concerning trade and fishing rights.[2]

Leslie was received by the Emperor with courteous words, but when he came to business, it was all he could do to avert war. The drawing up of the treaty was entrusted by Ismâïl to the Alcaïd Omar of Alcazar, who had completely hidden from Kirke his real hostility to the English, but who now showed his true colours. Leslie wrote on 31st March,

"wee began to draw up the Articles with his Secretary, but he alwaies interposed new difficulties either from himselfe or by order from the Alcayde . . . in the morning he return'd with the articles all cut and torn by the Alcayde."

[1] Minutes of the Lords for the affairs of Tangier, 8th February 1680/1 (C.O. 279, 27, f. 103).

[2] Memorandum of Jenkin Thomas (Mayor), Recorder and Aldermen of Tangier, for Sir James Leslie, 4th March 1680/1; *ibid.*, f. 157.

Leslie afterwards wrote from Tangier,

"'tis my opinion if the Alcaide should bee cutt off that it would be for the good of the garrison, for he was the chiefe if not the onely man that opposed the interest of this place."[1]

The writer of "The Last Account from Fez," while still under the influence of the pleasing manners and generous hospitality of the Alcaïd, spoke with admiration of the

"honesty and justice of so well-principled a Moor, who has been so industriously kind to the proceedings of this treaty . . . and whose character is so extraordinary for goodness as well as greatness."

The Alcaïd, however, was still an implacable enemy of Tangier, which it had long been his ambition to conquer. The two English soldiers were no match for him in diplomacy, and their cause was weakened by the uncomfortable conviction that their Government was unlikely to support them should they adopt a high-handed policy. They could gain no concession on the important point of freedom to fortify Tangier. They were unable to arrange a peace by sea between England and the coast towns of Morocco, and after much discussion they were forced to agree to a treaty very advantageous to the Moors.[2] "I have beene a very un-

[1] Leslie to Sir L. Jenkins, 15th August 1681 (C.O. 279, 28, f. 180).

[2] C.O. 279, 27, ff. 207-210, 29th March 1681. Peace concluded between Sir James Leslie and the Alcaïd Omar Benhadu el hamany, on behalf of King Charles II. and the Emperor Mulaï Ismâïl (Abstract of Articles, f. 211).

1. The peace to be by land for four years.

2. The articles of the truce made by Colonel Sackville, 3rd January 1680/1 ratified and confirmed for the said four years.

3. The English agree not to build or fortify in any way without the walls of the town of Tangier, but with due notice given, and in the presence of a Moor appointed by the Alcaïd, they may repair anything which may require it. The Moors may repair their trenches round Tangier on similar conditions, but no new ones are to be made.

4. The Governor of Tangier may fetch four loads of wood every month.

5. He may repair and clear the water-course coming to the town, in the presence of a Moor appointed by the Alcaïd.

6. He may repair the four out-forts when necessary, on the same condition.

7. Cattle and horses may be sent out to graze from Fountain Fort to the sea-shore, but not above the said fort, and (only) English, Scotch, or Irish horsemen, soldiers, women, and children may go out the same way within certain limits prescribed), taking a Moor or two for safe conduct.

fortunate man in this businesse," wrote Leslie " . . . all I desire is that I may not be blamed before I am heard." [1]

Had the Ambassador been able to obtain the release of the English captives in Morocco, he might, the treaty notwithstanding, have redeemed his reputation, but in this important matter, too, failure awaited him.

Besides thirty thousand native slaves, Ismâil had in his possession some two thousand five hundred Christians, among whom were seventy English soldiers, prisoners of war from the garrison of Tangier, most of them men of Leslie's own regiment, who were eagerly waiting in hope of redemption by the officers of the embassy.

Leslie brought with him money for their ransom, but the Emperor refused to let them go unless the rest of his English slaves were redeemed at the same time. In all there were about a hundred and thirty men, and the lowest price he would accept was two hundred pieces of eight for

8. The Moors may buy anything from Tangier, including powder, guns (*i.e.*, muskets), wheat, steel, iron, horses, and contrabands goods, except only stores for shipping, cannon, and bullets. The Governor of Tangier may buy anything from the Moors except corn, horses, and whatever else the Alcaïd may declare to be against their law.

9. The Governor of Tangier to have leave to fish as far as Jews' River.

10. On condition that Pole Fort is demolished, the Governor may dig stone for the Mole, houses, or walls, but not for fortifications.

11. Goods declared contraband in the former treaty are now to be current merchandise.

12. If any ship (English or Foreign) be driven ashore beyond musket shot of Tangier, "the men, ship, and goods shall be to the Moors, nor may the garrison sally in their defence either by land or sea." If a ship be driven ashore within musket shot of the town, it shall be "to the Governor, yet so as the Moors may be at liberty to endeavour to bring off their countrymen without being annoyed by the shot of the town."

13. The peace to be renewed every four years, if ratified by the King of England, and if not, war is to be declared.

14. The one hundred pieces of cloth mentioned in the former articles to be paid by the English after the ratification of peace.

15. A copy of the treaty to be always in the hands of the Moorish Commander-in-Chief about Tangier.

16. Two hundred guns (promised by former articles) to be exactly according to a specified pattern, in size, bore, and quality; the guns and one hundred and twenty quintals of powder per month to be delivered as demanded by the Alcaid Omar, either monthly or otherwise.

[1] Sir J. Leslie to Mr Brisbane, 18th April 1681; *ibid.* f. 254.

each man; besides these, there were about sixty slaves belonging to private owners who were only to be redeemed at a third or half as much again.[1] The total sum demanded was, as the Emperor well knew, far more than Leslie had at his disposal. He was obliged to leave Mequinez without the captives, and negotiations for their release dragged on through many weary months. The cost of the redemption of Europeans rose and fell in inverse ratio to the prestige of their countries. The high price demanded by the Emperor indicated that he had no very great opinion of the power of England.[2]

It was not without reason that the redemption of captives was considered of great importance; not only did their position indicate the weakness of their country, but their fate was such as to awaken pity even in an age when cruelty was regarded with comparative indifference.

Most of Ismâïl's European slaves were employed on the magnificent buildings which were the Emperor's chief delight, and one of the foundations of his fame. He himself superintended their erection, killing a workman here and there to keep the rest busy, for, as he remarked, "they were like rats in a bag which he must keep shaking lest they should gnaw their way out." Many a dilatory labourer was knocked from the wall by his orders to be built up alive into the concrete of the foundations.[3]

From early morning till late at night the slaves were kept hard at work, building, quarrying or breaking stones, with hardly a moment's respite in which to eat their scanty allowance of barley bread, which was sometimes so black and sour that even dogs would not touch it.[4] At night they were lodged under a strong guard in "bagnios" to which all slaves might be sent; at Mequinez they were quartered under the twenty-four arches of a great bridge; at Salli the bagnio was a noisome and verminous cellar, ankle deep in

[1] The actual number of English slaves in Morocco must have been far higher than this, considering the frequent captures of English ships by pirates. Probably the list given to Leslie by the Emperor represented only those whose failing health and strength made them of little value.

[2] Budgett Meakin, "The Moorish Empire," 282.

[3] Windhus, *op. cit.* (Pinkerton's "Voyages," xv. 477).

[4] "Captivity of Thomas Phelps" ("Harl. Collection of Voyages," ii. 503).

filth, wherein the slaves were crowded to sleep on the floor as best they could. Sometimes a slave belonging to a private owner would rise to a position of influence and power, but Christians were usually treated with great cruelty, and subjected to the bitterest humiliations. Many of them were laden with chains so heavy that they could scarcely walk, and a look or word of resentment was punished by hundreds of blows from the merciless "bastinado." The ministrations of the several Orders of Redemptionists encouraged the Christians in constancy to their faith, though promises or persecution induced many captives, despairing of ransom, to accept Mohammedanism, for the Redemptionists bargained for those who had been longest in captivity, and there was little hope of release for the younger slaves. Renegades, especially those who were skilled in the arts of warfare, often rose to high positions, but they gave up for ever the hope of freedom, no ransom was accepted for them, and the penalty of attempted escape was death, by one or other of the tortures which the Emperor delighted to devise.

Escape for either Christian or renegade was difficult and dangerous, and hardly possible except to those slaves who were allowed to sleep in their master's house, instead of in a public bagnio. Even for them the chance of success was small; a close watch was kept on the coast to prevent fugitives from boarding a foreign vessel; cordons of Moorish guards surrounded the Christian garrisons; possible starvation and danger from wild beasts faced the few who were bold enough to make a dash for freedom, while fear of the terrible punishments consequent upon recapture, which was all too probable, held back from the venture the many whose energy and courage were undermined by the miserable conditions in which they were forced to exist.

Two examples of the dangers met by the fugitive slave are to be found in the narratives of Adam Elliot, an English clergyman, and of John Phelps, whose capture has already been mentioned.

Elliot was bought in the market-place of Salli by Hamet Lucas, a Moor who had formerly served in the garrison of Tangier, and had since deserted to become secretary to the

Alcaid Omar, and who treated his slave with great cruelty. Elliot laid his plans for escape with some cunning; he induced the French Consul to send his master a present of wine, which so pleased Hamet Lucas, that he invited his slave to supper to share it, with three or four Moors, and exempted him from the bagnio for the night. Over wine and music all became friendly; the Moors sang "à la Morisco," and Elliot entertained them by singing, "Calm was the Evening," which he translated into Spanish for their benefit.

"I must confess," he says, "I never knew any who seem'd much diverted with the sweetness of my voice, neither was I ever so vain as to expect it, but really, when I heard their barbarous tones and damnable dissonant jangling, I cannot deny a piece of weakness which then possest me, which was a pleasure to hear mine own sweet self chant it. The glass in the meanwhile did not stand still."

Elliot plied his master with wine until the latter was helpless upon the floor, and Elliot himself feigned drunkenness until the rest of the party had taken their unsteady departure. He then took Hamet Lucas's scimitar and pistols, two shirts and a pair of shoes, put out the candles and slipped out. He passed through the streets safely, and reached the river's bank without challenge. With his clothes and weapons in a bundle on his back he began to swim across, but became so exhausted that he was obliged to let all his possessions sink to the bottom of the river before he reached the opposite bank. As fast as he could he made his way along the coast, narrowly escaping the notice of several parties of Moors. After a time he was forced to turn inland, and struggled through a prickly waste of furze and gorse, every moment on the verge of discovery. At last he came within sight of Mámora, which was still in the hands of a Spanish garrison, and at the last moment he ran almost into a post of Moorish guards, set over against the fortress. The Moors fired after him as he exerted all his strength in a final despairing effort and sank exhausted at the gate of a Spanish out-fort, covered with blood and dirt, his bare feet cut by

stones and sharp shells, to be rescued from his pursuers by the Spanish soldiers, who showed him every kindness. The next day he had the satisfaction of seeing a Moorish search-party, with Hamet Lucas at their head, driven away from the walls by several shots from the Spaniards.[1]

Another hairbreadth escape was that of Thomas Phelps, one of Ismâïl's slaves at Mequinez, who came to the conclusion that any fate would be better than that which he endured. "I did often rummage all my thoughts for some expedient to ease me of this accursed way, not of living, but starving and dying daily," he says. At length with three other slaves he made his escape, and travelled for days through a hostile country, hiding once for a whole day among the branches of a fallen tree, hindered in his progress by a severe and inopportune attack of gout, and frightened by lions which he drove off by lighting a fire at the imminent risk of discovery by the Moors. Half starved, he and his companions were thankful to find some snails, and on these, with a land-tortoise and some pumpkins, they existed until they reached the coast near Salli, where, after overcoming many more difficulties and hardships, they were at last rescued by the *Lark* frigate, then patrolling the coast.[2]

The captive soldiers from Tangier, having been promised redemption, seem to have waited in hope of release without attempting escape. The Emperor himself assured Kirke and Leslie that all the English slaves might at any time be redeemed at two hundred pieces of eight a head, but this was in the days of Kirke's trust in Moorish honour, and unfortunately no written promise was obtained. When a few months later the necessary sum was produced, the Alcaïd Omar asserted that two hundred ducats and not pieces of eight had been agreed upon as the price for each slave.

Kirke still hoped something from the Emperor's professed friendship for himself, and sent a messenger to his court to

[1] "A Narrative of my Travails, Captivity, and Escape from Salle in the Kingdom of Fez" (printed with "A Modest Vindication of Titus Oates, the Salamanca Doctor"), by Adam Elliot, M.A., a priest of the Church of England, 1682. *Cf.* pp. 44-45, *supra.*

[2] "The Captivity of Thomas Phelps" ("Harl. Collection of Voyages, II. 500 *et seq*). *Cf.* p. 44, *supra.*

remind him of his promise. His request was diplomatically introduced by a present of guns, and Ismâïl, in gracious mood, gave orders that the English captives should be set free to accompany Kirke's envoy back to Tangier, and with them twenty Portuguese slaves, for whose redemption Queen Catherine had sent a sum of money from her own purse.

The slaves were already assembled at Mequinez on their way to freedom, when a rumour that English ships were carrying ammunition to the nephew with whom Ismâïl was at war scattered the Emperor's promises to the winds. In an outburst of unreasoning fury he sent the captives back to their chains, refusing to listen to a word of persuasion from the English officer who had thought his mission successfully accomplished.

Nothing would convince Ismâïl that the traders in contraband had no countenance from the English Government. Kirke in reporting the affair says:—

"He expressed his resentment with his usual fury and passion, and immediately revoked the order he had given about the slaves, protesting that none of them should stir out of the countrie 'til he should receive a letter from the King of England, promising that no English ships should be permitted to carry those supplies to his Enemy. He would hearken to nothing my Gentleman would have alleagued. This is but an addition to . . . many instances . . . of caprice and humour of this prince and people . . . their most solemne promises and engagements . . . will infallibly cease upon the slightest pretences, whenever our weaknesse shall afford them hope of successe."[1]

At the same time Ismâïl expected to redeem his own subjects who were slaves in Tangier, at the cost of two cows apiece, and greatly resented the refusal of the English Government to entertain his proposal.[2]

The conclusion of the treaty in March 1681 was followed by a wearisome succession of disputes with the Moors on every point in or out of the terms of peace.

[1] Kirke's Report of 23rd February 1681/2 (C.O. 279, 29, ff. 88, 89).

[2] Orders of the Committee for Tangier to Colonel Kirke, 5th September 1681 (C.O. 279, 28, f. 188). "Their Lordships doe utterly dislike the overtures made . . . to take cattell in exchange for Moores."

The Emperor and the Alcaïd Omar were discontented with the presents they received. It was a great disappointment to them to find that some of their bales of fine English cloth were damaged by being unshipped in bad weather; worse than this, five of the precious English muskets "with the Tower mark" burst on trial through being loaded with a double charge of extra strong "battle powder," a present from Colonel Kirke. Another gift, specially expected to give pleasure, also failed in its effect. Kirke had written to Sir Lionel Jenkins that "six Gallway naggs" would be very acceptable, "for the Moores are of an humor that loves presents mightily," and Colonel Sackville wrote to Sunderland to request that ponies "of the smallest size of Gallowaies that are possible to bee had" might be despatched immediately, "and 'twill bee very necessary that they have long tailes, they having little esteeme for others, such a trifle as this obliges theise sort of people more than can bee imagined." The ponies were duly sent, but were received by the Emperor with derision, he having expected, "by a description he gave of his fancy impossible to be comprehended, something extreamly small and swift, and not to be found in England."

Soon after the conclusion of peace Sackville returned to England on account of failing health. He was succeeded as Commander-in-Chief of Tangier by Colonel Kirke, who was also given the command of the old Tangier regiment.

The difficulty of his task of maintaining peace with the Moorish Government was increased by the capitulation of the Spanish fortress of Mâmora to an enormous army of Moors early in May 1681. The Governor, after an heroic defence, was received by Kirke at Tangier on his way to Cadiz.

This victory raised Ismâïl's conceit to an even higher pitch than before; he boasted that he could take Tangier in one night if he wished, and the Moorish guards posted round Tangier became in their elation very troublesome to the garrison. Kirke wrote on 4th June:—

"They are very high upon the taking of Mamora, and the Guards were too sawcy and strict to their Articles, I was

forced to complayne to the Alcayde, who has given better order and more libertie, we forage every day some three miles from the Towne, and the Moores cutt us grass and bring it into the Towne where we make hay of it." He hoped the wants of the garrison would be well supplied from home, "for thogh the Moores have made a peace for four yeares, and may keepe their wordes, yet they are Moores and not to be trusted too farr, and the better condicion our Garrison is in, the better their peace will be kept."[1]

Colonel Boynton, of the old Tangier regiment, wrote at the same time:—

"I must confesse I'me jealouse our subtle Alcade Omare hopes to lull us into false security that his Majesty may . . . withdraw or lessen his troops heare, . . . when he will take any slight occasion of breaking with us, for theire is noe creditt or trust to bee given to his honor wheire there is the prospect of soe vast an advantage that would accrew to him by the surprisall of this place."[2]

During the two years following the Mequinez treaty trade between Tangier and the Moors increased considerably, though every obstacle was put in its way by the "subtle Alcaïd Omar" and his brother and successor, Ali Benabdala. The principal commodities exchanged were cloth, powder, and muskets on the one hand, and on the other, cattle, poultry, straw, and beeswax.[3]

For a time during 1681 reports of plague at Salli, Mâmora, Fez, Mequinez, and other places forced Kirke to forbid the entrance of Moorish traders into the town. They were ordered to leave their goods at the bounds, "if not of

[1] Kirke to Sir L. Jenkins, 4th June 1681 (C.O. 279, 28, f. 8 *et seq.*).

[2] *Ibid.*, f. 7, 3rd June 1681.

[3] *Ibid.*, 29, f. 1, 1st January 1681/2. Voluntary offer of half a piece of eight per cwt. of beeswax which comes by land or is shipped off or sold here for a year, to Colonel Piercy Kirke by several inhabitants of Tangier, as a mark of their gratitude for the trade by Moors and Jews obtained by him. Kirke was forbidden by the Tangier Committee to accept this percentage. Among the papers of 1682 is an agreement *re* purchase of jewels from Tetuan; "3 great Diamonts, one 108 grains weight, for 2,000 Span. dollars, one 44 grains, 1,000 dollars, one 24 grains, 400 dollars, and a red carbuncle of a nutts bigness, bought by Mr James Pinto, of Sento Corcos" (C.O. 279, 30, f. 81).

a dangerous nature," to be fetched in and sold for them by the resident Barbary Jews, and those goods liable to infection, "as Hides, Alhaiques and feathers," were to be left at the stockade to be shipped off without passing through the city.[1] At the same time the plague reached Cadiz through inadequate precautions, and Tangier again lay in a state of siege on all sides from the most deadly of enemies.

Happily the danger passed by, and trade with the Moors was resumed. Kirke's agents, however, were cheated right and left, and could only buy the worst cattle at excessive rates. He therefore sent his servant to bargain in the market place at Alcazar, where he bought good cattle very cheap, until the Alcaïd Ali Benabdala instigated a religious riot against him, in order to stop his proceedings. Kirke insisted on his right by the treaty to buy cattle and other goods in the country markets at current prices. This, he says, is

"the only benefit wee derive from the treaty and which wee have not yet ever been able to obtain, and indeed considering the Alcaïd's private profit, which is very great, by his monopolizing the cattle and selling them to us himself at the price he pleases, I judge he will hardly condescend to redresse the abuse, and I make this demand (which hath all the justice in it imaginable) not so much out of hopes of procuring remedy as to silence the Alcaïd for the present and to evade the inconvenience of delivering at such a conjuncture so considerable a quantitie of powder."[2]

The very dilatory delivery of the powder, guns, and cloth due from England by the treaty was greatly resented by the Moors, and especially by the Alcaïd of Alcazar, who fell into disgrace with the Emperor when he failed to extort from the commander-in-chief or the merchants of Tangier all that was expected, including a thousand muskets and an immense quantity of powder.

Omar fell still further out of favour by failing to intercept a Moorish prince, or Shereef, of the Royal House, who,

[1] Kirke to Omar Benhadu, 12th July 1681 (C.O. 279, 28, f. 108).
[2] Kirke's Report, 13th July 1683 (C.O. 279, 32, f. 18).

having quarrelled with the Emperor, took refuge at Tangier, where he was detained for a time by Kirke, who remarked with a touch of humour:—

"In all his behaviour and discourse he appears extravagant even to a degree of madness, which is a true character of a prince of the Morocco family and one of the best arguments that he is of the Royal blood."[1]

The English Government considered that such a hostage might be made good use of, and Kirke was instructed to demand the restitution of all deserters from the garrison in exchange for his distinguished prisoner,[2] but a few days before receiving the order, fearing to provoke war, he gave up the Shereef, who expressed his wish to return to the Moorish Court, without receiving any corresponding concession from the Emperor.

While the Shereef was detained at Tangier, Omar was seized by a form of illness which visited many of Ismâïl's disgraced servants; he at once sent to Tangier to request the services of one of the best physicians of the garrison, saying he was "much indisposed with a feverish distemper and weakness and coldness of stomach."[3] Kirke sent him the unwilling doctor of his own regiment, but he was unable to save the Alcaïd's life. Shere wrote at the time, "We are given to understand that the recovery of his health depends on his being restored to power and his master's peace," and this was not likely to be effected on easier terms than "the composition of a mighty sum," to raise which Omar was pawning and selling his every possession. He was, however, unable to raise the sum demanded as the price of Imperial favour, and died at Mequinez at the end of October 1681; his death was attributed by some to poison, and by others to anxiety. The Emperor, who always affected to be un-

[1] Kirke to Sir L. Jenkins, 8th September 1681 (C.O. 279, 28, f. 191).

[2] Directions to Secretary Jenkins to order the Governor of Tangier to demand all such fugitives as have deserted His Majesty's service and are fled from the said garrison into the Emperor's dominions, and not to deliver the said Emperor's kinsman without such an exchange (by His Majesty's Order). (*Signed*), John Nicholas. Order in Council, 14th October 1681 (C.O. 279, 28, f. 272).

[3] Omar to Kirke (translated) 22 of Ramadan 1092 (C.O. 279, 28, f. 228).

conscious of the fate of his victims, whether they died by his own hand or by his orders, "received the news of his death with great resentment, and honoured the funeral with, his presence," and made the Alcaid's brother, Ali Benabdala, Governor of Alcazar in his place.[1]

[1] Kirke's Report of 3rd November 1681 (C.O. 279, 28, f. 297).

CHAPTER XII

THE "MOROCCO AMBASSADOR"—1682

WHILE the British embassy was at Mequinez in 1681, when Leslie and Kirke raised objections to the terms of peace proposed by the Moors, the only satisfaction they could obtain from the Emperor was a promise that he would send an ambassador to London, with plenary powers to amend any articles in the Mequinez treaty that might be disapproved by the King of England, and to arrange a treaty of peace by sea.

Hitherto the English Government had carried on negotiations with the Governors of Salli and Tetuan, who had signed maritime treaties in the name of the Emperor of Morocco, but practically on their own responsibility. It was a new tribute to the reputation of Mulaï Ismâïl to assume the identity of the pirate cities with his empire, but one which he found a little embarrassing, as he and his chief advisers were entirely ignorant of naval affairs.

In order to gain time, the Moorish Ambassador was delayed on one pretext after another all through the summer of 1681. On 23rd September Sir James Leslie wrote:—

"The Emperour hath given no answer to our letters about the Ambassador, and I believe will not till this dispute be over, but Jonas, an English renegade who brought the Emperour's letters . . . tells me that Alcaide Hammett, Alcaide Omar's brother, is nominated and that as soon as the Ram-Dam is over which is this mounth, he may sett out."[1]

This information proved inaccurate; it was not until the end of November that the Moorish Ambassador, Alcaïd

[1] Leslie to Jenkins, 23rd September 1681 (C.O. 279, 28, f. 214). The dispute mentioned concerned the Moorish prince detained at Tangier.

Mohammed Ohadu (or Ben Hadu)[1] approached Tangier. With great ceremony he advanced across the sandhills to the city gates, escorted by Ali Benabdula with two hundred horsemen, and followed by twenty of his retinue bringing presents for the King of England, including two lions and twenty ostriches.

As the Ambassador drew near, Colonel Kirke rode out past Fountain Fort to meet him, preceded by four troops of horse, fifty grenadiers, picked men of the Earl of Dunbarton's Regiment, thirty gunners in new uniforms, and thirty negroes in painted coats. The Colonel was attended by twenty gentlemen well mounted, and on each side of his horse marched six of the tallest men of the garrison, carrying "long fusils." Halting within musket-shot of the Moors, they were complimented by a "powder-play" by the Alcaïd's lancers, and then escorted the Ambassador and his suite into the town. Pole Fort fired a salute as they passed and another volley greeted them from Peterburgh tower as they entered the gate at Catherine Port. Within the town all was astir; the Mayor and Corporation in their robes welcomed the Ambassador with a speech made by the Recorder; all the streets were lined with troops; salutes were fired from all the guns. The escort drew up in the court-yard of the Castle, and the Moors passed up the stairs between two lines of dismounted troopers. Leading them to a large open gallery, Kirke showed them the famous view, which is said to be, especially on a moonlight night, one of the most beautiful prospects in the world. The town, full of soldiers, the spacious bay, with ships from all parts of the world at anchor within shelter of the Mole, were spread in panorama before them, and as they looked, three volleys rang out from each regiment drawn up below the Castle. Then, in the great Hall, the officers of the garrison were introduced to the Ambassador, and the day ended amid general festivities with a great display of fireworks.[2]

The Ambassador was entertained at the Castle for nearly

[1] Various forms of the name are given in different letters.

[2] Kirke's Report of reception of the Ambassador, 2nd December 1681 (C.O. 279, 28, f. 339 *et seq.*, and *London Gazette*, 5th January 1681/2.

a fortnight with the traditional hospitality of Tangier. He made a fairly good impression, and Kirke reported that he seemed to be "of good temper and understanding, and temperate." He was said to be of good descent and the son of an Englishwoman. He was accompanied by the Almocaden Mahomet el Xatef (or Hafid) "a man of active and haughty spirit"; the secretary to the embassy was Hamet Lucas, "a subtil and impudent vilain," whose presence was accepted by Kirke only under strong protest. Lucas was descended from a family of the Moors last expelled from Spain, he had twice changed his religion, and twice deserted from Tangier. Shere wrote of him as

"a very cuning and able man, by whose hand Guyland and the late Alcayde negotiated all their treatys with Xtians, especially this place. . . . He speaks and writes Spanish and is indeed the only man they have that is not a Jew fitt for this purpose."[1]

Kirke felt most strongly the inadvisability of allowing such a man to go to England to gain the confidence of credulous ministers and to gather information underhand for the Moors, yet he was anxious to give no pretext for further delay, and Lucas was permitted to accompany the embassy to London, where he met with and "received kindly," Adam Elliot, his former slave, and married an unfortunate English servant-girl. His subsequent career is not recorded in the Tangier correspondence.

On 9th December, the Moorish Embassy, accompanied by Sir James Leslie, sailed in the *Hampshire* frigate and the *Golden Horse*, an Algerine prize,[2] arriving at Deal on 29th December. The Ambassador, who was "much indisposed throughout the voyage," was glad to hear that the rest of the journey was to be made by land, and after a few days' rest, proceeded to London in one of the Royal coaches sent by the King for his use.

[1] Shere to Jenkins, 4th November 1681 (C.O. 279, 28, f. 300). Evelyn ("Diary," 11th January 1682) alludes to him as "a renegado Englishman."

[2] Forty-eight guns—five hundred men—captured by the *Adventure*, Captain Booth "after a very hot dispute of 16 hours" in which the Algerines lost above two hundred men. The *Nonsuch* then came up, and the pirates surrendered to her. (Sackville to Jenkins, 9th April 1681, C.O. 279, 27, f. 238).

THE KASBAH (FROM A MODERN PHOTOGRAPH), SHOWING PART OF THE OLD WALL OF THE "UPPER CASTLE."

[*To face p.* 222.

Sir James Leslie and Captain Langston, were deputed to attend the Ambassador during his visit, and seven Commissioners were appointed to treat with him.[1]

Kirke felt a good deal of anxiety as to the concessions that might be obtained at Whitehall by the diplomacy of the astute Ohadu, and sent an urgent warning that the verbal promises of the Moors "wherein they are extreamly pompous and liberal," were not to be relied on. He requested that, if a new treaty were drawn up, it should be sent for his comments before ratification, and the Ambassador entertained with "proper amusements" in the meantime. He advised that conferences should be conducted with a show of mystery, and secret presents given to each member of the embassy,[2] and that any outbursts of temper on the part of the Moors should be disregarded and all negotiations carried on "with affability."

He added that the chief desire of the Moors, which gave the best security of their observing the articles of peace, was trade in contraband goods. It was essential to keep this business in the King's hands; the Ambassador should on no account be allowed to buy powder and guns in England, and if possible their current price should be kept from his knowledge.

Kirke's advice of secrecy was closely followed, and very little information is to be found in the Tangier correspondence of the business transacted with the Ambassador, though a full account of the social doings of the Moors is given in contemporary journals.

Their reception by the King and Queen is described as follows in the *London Gazette* of 11th January 1681.

"Whitehal. This day the Ambassador from the King of Fez and Morocco had his publick Audience of their

[1] "The Lord President, Lord Chamberlain, Lord Halifax, Lord Hyde, both Secretaries and Mr Godolphin" (P. Wynne to Shere, 30th January 1681/2, Add. MSS., 19872, f. 81).

[2] *Cf.* "Monies paid for Secret Services of Charles II. and James II.," p. 54. "To Sir Charles Cotterel Knt., Master of the Ceremonies, 1350 gineys, to be by him disposed as follows, viz. to the ambassador from the Emperor of Morocco etc., 1000 guineys; to his companion 100 guineys; to his secretary 100 guineys; to his interpreter 109 guineys; and to buy coates etc., for 20 of his servants, 50 gin.—£1,462 10s. 0d."

Majesties; he was brought from his House in the Strand by the Right Honble the Earl of Ranelagh, one of the gentlemen of his Majesties bed-chamber, and Sir Charles Cotterel, Master of the Ceremonies, in his Majesties Coach, followed with a great many other coaches with 6 horses apiece, to Whitehal, in the usual manner, and was conducted through his Majesties Foot Guards to the Council Chamber, and after a short stay there to the Banqueting House, where he was received at the door by the Right Hon. the Earl of Arlington, Lord Chamberlain of His Majesties household, and led up to their Majesties, who were seated under the State, attended by a great number of the Nobility and Gentry, and His Majesties band of Gentlemen Pensioners, and Yeomen of the Guard. The Ambassador having made a short speech, presented to his Majesty a letter from the King his Master, which His Majesty delivered to the Right Hon. Mr Secretary Jenkins, who received it upon his knee.

"After which His Majesty was pleased to ask the Ambassador of the health of the King of Fez; and the Ambassador having answered thereunto, and finished what else he had to say, was reconducted in the same manner he came, to his House."

John Evelyn describes the Ambassador as "a handsome person, well-featured, of a wise look, subtle and extremely civil." He "had a string of pearls oddly woven in his turban," and he and his retinue "were all clad in the Moorish habit, cassocks of coloured cloth or silk, with buttons and loops, over this an *alhaga* or white woollen mantel so large as to wrap both head and body, and sash, or small turban, naked legged and armed but with leather socks like the Turks, rich scimitar and large calico sleeved shirts."[1] A few days later the Ambassador was accorded a private audience by the King, who received him and his presents with great courtesy, though he laughed at the ostriches and afterwards gave them away to any of his courtiers who would accept them, saying "he know nothing more proper to send by way of return than a flock of geese."[2]

The arrival of the Moors caused great excitement in London, and people crowded to see them, "the concourse

[1] "Diary of John Evelyn," 11th January 1681/2.

[2] "Memoirs of Sir John Reresby," p. 201. Cf. also Add. MSS., 19872, f. 81.

and tumult was intolerable, so as the officers could keep no order, which the strangers were astonished at," remarked Evelyn, who commented favourably on the dignified manners, the courtesy and gravity of the Moors, which never relaxed even in the midst of the revelries of a dissolute company. They were introduced to London society by the Duchess of Portsmouth, who gave a brilliant entertainment for them in her "glorious apartments" at Whitehall,

"where was a great banquet of sweetmeats and music; but at which the Ambassador and his retinue behaved themselves with extraordinary moderation and modesty, though placed about a long table, a lady between two Moors, the ladies . . . as splendid as jewels and excess of bravery could make them. The Moors . . . drank a little milk and water, but not a drop of wine, they also tasted of a sorbet and jacolatt (chocolate?) did not look about or stare at the ladies, or express the least surprise, but with a courtly negligence in pace, countenance and whole behaviour, answering only to such questions as were asked with a great deal of wit and gallantry."[1]

The Moors now became the fashion of the season; the Ambassador appeared

"at the Play, at the Park, at private places, and rides out as often as the weather permits him, and exercises with his lance. He is continually visited by men and women who crowd to him and he receives them all with great affability and according to their quality."[2]

The wonderful horsemanship often displayed by the Moors in Hyde Park, and their "incredible agility" in flinging and catching their lances when at full gallop, were the object of great admiration.

The Ambassador was so well entertained in England that he stayed for more than six months, seeing a good deal of London, and visiting Windsor, Newmarket, and both Universities. His visit to Cambridge is described as follows in a contemporary diary:—

"The 1st of April 1682 Saturday between 11 and 12 in the morning came his Excelency [Hamet Ben Haddu Ottor]

[1] Evelyn, "Diary," 24th January 1681/2.
[2] Add. MSS., 19872, f. 81.

the Morocco Embassadour to Cambridge and 3 others of the same nacion with him in the Kings coach, and about 6 more of his attendants on horseback, the Embassadour and those in the coach all alike clad with kinde of plads or lace garments or mantles over them, the Embassadours was cloath of gold or tissue, the others in the coach scarlet or red ligned with white, the Embassadour had on his head a capp lyk a night capp close to his head but read silke with some yellow sarsenet lyning that appeared, those on horseback had all, or most, rich mantles or plads and their heads bound with the same, all proper lusty men of a very swarthy complexion. They were invited hither by the University and received onely by them at the Regent Walke, the Maior and Aldermen not appearing, the Vice-chancellor and Heads in their scarlet: they gave them a banquet in the Regent house, where they had alsoe soused eeles, sturgeon, sammon, of some of which the Embassadour and the rest of them eat freely, the Embassadour after the banquet and walking to Trin. Coll. and St Johns being a little indisposed laid downe at the Provost of King's lodgeings, and about 5 or 6 of the clock at the Regent Walk took Coach and Horse and departed to Newmarket from whence they came that day. It was not thought fitt by the Maior to compliment the Embassadour, it being not usual for that body to appear but to persons of greater quality." [1]

On 26th April the "Morocco Ambassador" was invited to a meeting of the Royal Society, when the whole time of the meeting was employed in entertaining him, Mr Evelyn being specially deputed to compliment him.[2] He was elected an honorary Fellow of the Society, and inscribed his name in the Charter book "in a fair character in Arabic." He examined the library and especially some Arabic books, with great interest, and subsequently sent, by way of a scientific communication to the Society, an account of "a certain person who was always dumb except only at noon."[3]

At the end of May he paid a visit to Oxford, where he stayed for a night and did a great deal of sightseeing on the following day.

[1] Alderman Newton's "Diary." C. H. Cooper's "Annals of Cambridge," iii. 595 (Cambridge, 1845).

[2] Evelyn, "Diary," 31st May 1682.

[3] Thos. Birch, "History of the Royal Society," iv. 144 (1756).

On "May 28, Sunday. Notice came to the vicechancellor that the embassador from the Emperour of Fess and Morocco would visit the University next Tuesday.

"May 29, Monday. Dr Henry Yerbury of Magd. Coll. (was) appointed to ride in the head of all those scholars that had horses to goe out towards Shotover to meet him.

"May 30, Tuesday. He and certaine noble men of Ch. Ch. met behind Merton Coll. at 3 in the afternoone; went thence to the bottom of Shotover hill, where they waited for the embassador with many others that met them. The embassador came from Windsore in one of the king's coaches of 6 horses, with another with him: put in at Sir Timothy Tirrils at Shotover about 4 in the afternoon where he had a banquet. Afterwards came towards Oxford and at the bottom of Shotover next to Oxon he was there met by at least 100 scholars on horsebacke. Dr Yerbury saluted him in the University name in English, which he took by interpretation. About 8 of the clocke at night came into Oxford Hamet Ben Hamet Ben Haddu Ottur embassadour from the emperour of Morocco and put in at the Angell inn within East gate. Where being settled, the vicechancellor and Doctors in their scarlet with the bedells before them congratulated his arrivall; and the orator spoke a little speech and (Dr Edward) Pocock somthing in (A)rabick which made him laugh.

"May 31, Wednesday. In the morning about 8 or 9 he went to Queen's College and saw the Chapel Hall, and had a horne of beere but did not drinke, thence to the Physick Garden where Dr (Robert) Morison harangued him. Thence to Magd. Coll. where the president spake somthing to him; went into the chappell beheld the windowes and paintings; thence round the cloyster. And so to New Coll. where he saw the Chappell while the organ played. Thence to St John's. Thence to Wadham. Thence to All. Sls; saw their chappell. Thence to Univers. Coll. And so home to the Angell . . . in the afternoon . . . a prodigious hurricane. . . . At half an hour past two the Convocation bell rung. At 3 the people were seated in the Theater but the embassador being indisposed after dinner and sleepie came not till 5 of the clock. Being seated in a seat of state on the right hand of the vicechancellor, (William) Wiat the Orator spake a Latin speech. Which done, followed instrumentall and vocall Musick. . . . Tis thought that there was in the Theater 3000 people and a thousand without that could not get in. . . . He went thence up to the public library where he

was entertained with an Arabick speech by Dr Thomas Hyde which he understood. Thence to Ch. Ch. to the deane's lodgings, where he had a banquet; and saw the hall and cathedrall. Thence about 9 he went to the Angell and afterwards the vicechancellor presented to him certaine bookes in Arabick."[1]

It was not until 23rd July that Mohammed Ohadu was persuaded to leave England, though a treaty was signed at Whitehall on 23rd March. The King had hoped that improved commercial relations might be established between Morocco and England, and to that end had received the ambassador with "more than ordinary form"; but very little was effected by the negotiations which took place. The new treaty was hardly more than a confirmation of that concluded at Mequinez in 1681, and had "nothing in it of sea, the ambassador professing utter ignorance of sea affairs,"[2] though he had been invited to England for the express purpose of discussing them. He would only take the responsibility of agreeing to a maritime truce for four months, subject to the approval of the Emperor.

The "Whitehall treaties"[3] were severely criticised by Kirke, who thought the terms not sufficiently definite, the Moors "being extream dexterous in cavills." He objected strongly to the permission granted for thirty Moors to remain in Tangier, where people "so subtle and undermineing" would be able to find out too much of the resources of the English, "who are naturally credulous and without any reserve . . . we are but too apt to think ourselves secure."

He found, too, that the Moors had obtained permission to buy contraband from the English without limitation, instead of "to a certain stint only," as he had advised. He remarked that they would now be able to store it for use

[1] "The Life and Times of Anthony Wood, Antiquary of Oxford," 1632-1695, iii. 16 (1894 ed.).

[2] Sir L. Jenkins to Shere, 27th March 1682 (Add. MSS., 19872, f. 83).

[3] These treaties, sent to and acknowledged by Kirke, are not among his correspondence. Copies of them are among the Dartmouth MSS., but are not fully reported upon (Dart. MSS., Hist. MSS., Com. Report, iii. 51), probably being considered of little importance, as they never came into force.

against Tangier, and would certainly demand more than they thought could be supplied, as a pretext for denying the concessions due from themselves, and he complained of "our powder being near expended, at the same time we have liberally furnished the Moors with it." The Ambassador had also obtained an order from Charles II. for the release, without ransom, of all the Moorish slaves in Tangier, which caused great dissatisfaction in the place,[1] and had no effect in conciliating Mulaï Ismâïl, who, though professing gratitude for their release, asserted that there were still four hundred Moorish slaves kept back in Tangier, and made the detention of these fictitious captives an excuse for breaking his promise to set free his English slaves. Mohammed Ohadu reached Tangier in the *Woolwich* frigate on 30th August, and on 14th September he set out for the Emperor's camp. During his absence the Alcaïds Hamet and Ali Benabdala, his rivals for Imperial favour, had kept a Jew in England to spy upon his doings, and with the help of a gift of sixty thousand pieces of eight, had succeeded in prejudicing the Emperor against him. According to an account given to Kirke by Hamet Lucas, the secretary, the Ambassador was met on his way back by ten of Ismâïl's negroes,

"who as soon as they came up, divided themselves and apprehended the Embassador and his camerades, putting them immediately into irons and carrying them . . . to the King's presence."

Here they stood in their chains for an hour, before Ismâïl deigned even to look at them. He then began to abuse them with great violence, calling them dogs, and reproaching them for forgetting their own country and turning to the Christians, and commanded that they should immediately

[1] The slaves belonging to the King's bagnio, now only thirty-seven in number, were at this time employed by contractors as porters on the quay. Forty-two were owned by private individuals, who were compensated by one hundred pieces of eight for each slave. Seven belonged to Captain Giles, four to Captain Collier, three to Major Hope, three to Captain Beverley, the rest to Daniell Vassesterfleet, James Waring, and Robert Cuthbert (C.O. 279, 30, ff. 328, 367). Kirke found it difficult to satisfy the owner's claims, as they were unwilling to accept bills on the Treasury, and he had no "present credits" (*Ibid.*, f. 75).

"be dragged by mules for the space of 12 leagues through a country of stones and bryers."

The intercession of some of the "Sherifs and Muftis" appeased the Emperor to some extent, and it occurred to him to enquire of his Ambassador what he had done in England. Ohadu made the most of his opportunity, and enlarged with picturesque detail upon the extraordinary honours and gifts which he had received as the representative of the Emperor. His account so flattered the Imperial vanity that the sentence was revoked. Ismâïl himself afterwards admitted that he had spared his Ambassador's life because the King of England had saluted him by lifting his hat.

Lucas also informed Kirke that Ohadu's restoration to favour gave great offence to the Alcaïd Hamet, and in Ismâïl's presence "there arose a great contest and many high words" between them concerning the English, "whereat the King grew inraged, and rising from his seat expressed his fury in discharging it on those that were near him, killing sixteen men that day with his own hand." "However," Lucas observed, "in the evening he was more sedate," and again sent for Ohadu to hear more of his doings in England.

Though he had promised that his Ambassador should have full power to act on his behalf, Ismâïl now disowned all that had been done in England, and flatly refused to ratify the Whitehall treaties. He wrote to Charles II. saying that the jealousy and quarrels of his servants kept the truth from his knowledge, and requested that another English Ambassador "of great quality" might be sent to Morocco to receive conditions of peace from his own lips. Kirke was convinced that the Moorish disputes were a mere excuse for the demand for another embassy—"Our presents bring so pleasing a tast with them . . . which they think they cannot better or more cheaply procure than by the coming and going of Embassadours." To refuse the request, he admitted, might mean war, yet he did not advise compliance, for there was no security for better terms.

"If we gratifie them . . . our easinesse as it will be interpreted by them to be an effect of our fears, will but draw

on us harder exactions for the future. If wee do not comply with their desires we must then put ourselves in a position here of asserting his Majesties honour, and letting them see we are not a people to be sported with, and indeed the Moors, (if I can judge of them) will never value us, or be the more our friends, for what we give them, but for what we are able to refuse them."[1]

Kirke's emphatic judgment, fortified by experience, was not to be despised, and instead of an Embassy Charles merely sent a letter to the Emperor, by the hand of Lieutenant Nicholson, who was instructed to bribe the principal men at the Moorish Court to support the Whitehall treaties.

The letter was written in Arabic by Dr Hyde, of Oxford, who found it "much harder to translate into Arabick than out of it." Certain expressions contained in it gave great offence to the Emperor, but Kirke considered that the anger with which it was received was due to the fact that Ismâïl was able to read it for himself, and for the first time knew the real contents of a letter from England; hitherto letters had been written in English or Spanish, and the Jew or renegade entrusted with their interpretation always took care to give them a flattering and servile tone, lest Imperial displeasure should fall on the head of the interpreter.

The Emperor's reply to the King of England, written in Arabic and beautifully emblazoned in gold, proved on translation to be nothing but a string of studied insults. He alluded to Tangier as

"thy sustenance and the apple of thine eye, without which thy ships could not pass either to the West or East, nor

[1] (Kirke's Report, 16th November 1682; C.O. 279, 30, f. 220. Received 25th December.) *Cf.* Kirke's letter to Colonel Legge, 4th November 1682, Dartmouth MSS., Report, i. 78. "When you consider this state of our affairs and the nature of the people we are to deal withal, you will not admire if I urge with all earnestness the speedy sending all sort of ammunition supplies, since there is no means to prevent my Master's reputation or interest from suffering by the capriciousness of these people, but the putting ourselves into a posture of being redoubted by them, and of receiving no affronts. It would be very seasonable, if, upon this emergency and conjuncture, the Moors might see that we are not abandoned or neglected at home, and his Majesty would be the better able to take his measures on this unexpected reverse of affairs, did our neighbours observe we are preparing ourselves for the worst of events."

could'st thou have any notice of them, and we believed that thou endeavouredst to maintain it with gifts and presents and to give all thou hast for its peace for the sake of our forbearance and that thou wouldst send all we should desire and ask. . . . If I find at my return from the war I am in, that you have done any damage either by sea or land, or so much as to have removed a stone that ought not to be, I will not repose till I have sat down before Tangier and filled it with Moors, and reduced it to my possession by the favour of God."[1]

At the same time a letter was received by the King from Mohamed Ohadu, saying:—

"I advise you to open your hand with gifts, for my master will gather together before Tangier 600,000 men with one word"—you will spend all the money in your island and not save Tangier from him — "do you therefore with all diligence behave yourself well in my master's service, and give him whatever he demands of powder, arms, and all other things."[2]

This is alluded to by Kirke as

"the highest piece of impudence that could be imagined . . . visibly a piece contrived to work my Master into apprehensions that may make him accommodate himself to their fancies."

Letters to the Governor of Tangier from the Emperor and his chief advisers at this time gave ample proof of the futility of negotiating with the Moorish Government. It must be admitted that Ismâïl had some ground for his indifference to the proposals of the English. He had but too little reason to fear the military resources of Charles II., of whom he spoke as "an old woman, a slave to his Parliament"; he knew from his own spies that Tangier, by which alone he judged of England's strength, was left ill-provided with men and ammunition. The defeat of his troops in October 1680 had been recounted to him in a carefully edited form by the Moorish commanders; he could see for himself that his enemies had followed up their victory only by an

[1] The Emperor of Morocco to the King of England. Written in the 4th of Rhabe Nabahay in the year 1094 (23rd February 1682/3; C.O. 279, 31, f. 113). Translation, *ibid.*, 30, f. 340, and duplicate, Pepys's Miscellany (Cambridge), ii. 580.

[2] It was suggested that this letter was a forgery, by Hamet Lucas (C.O. 279, 30, f. 353).

open willingness to treat for peace. His Ambassador told him that all the presents sent to him from England were tribute paid by the English King, and every mark of friendship and every attempt at conciliation he counted for a sign of weakness and fear.

Ismâïl was firmly convinced that no European kingdom could prosper without his help, for the English, French, and Dutch were all rivals for his favour. In 1682 the Dutch bought from him a treaty of peace and commerce at the price of six hundred quintals of the best powder, and a large and richly furnished State coach. At the same time a French Ambassador was at the Moorish Court, and the English Consul at Salli learnt from some of the Moors that he was attempting to plan with the Emperor a joint attack upon Tangier. "Whether this be true or false, I know not," remarked Mr Onby, the Consul, "but this is what I pumpt out of them, they all being very shy of telling anything of news." At any rate Kirke had suspicions of a Franco-Moorish plot, and asked for a cypher, as his letters "often happened to be broken up as they passed through France."

The persistent demands of the English for peace by sea caused great annoyance to the Emperor, who would not at first admit that he was powerless to grant their request. The Salli rovers paid not the slightest heed to the four months' truce agreed to at Whitehall, merely thinking it a splendid opportunity to capture English trading vessels, while the King's frigates lay idly by, bound to inaction by their orders. The Emperor was deaf to all remonstrances, for he knew that the pirates of Salli, though owning his suzerainty, would have paid little respect to his authority had he tried to impose upon them an unwelcome peace.

Ismâïl owed none of his glory to naval power, and none of his strength to foreign trade. He felt all the contempt of ignorance for the affairs of the sea, and spoke of them as matters which a warlike people could hardly deign to consider. He said with some truth in his letter to Charles II.:—

"We have nothing to fear by sea, nor are there any of our servants, negroes, or renegadoes who use trade, but a few

seamen whom we make no account of." He added, "Our force is by land, and we shall have no need of ships till we take Tangier when it shall please God to give it us, and then we will build in it a forest of ships and fight with the Christians on the other side. . . . As to the Peace by sea which thou desirest of us, we have no need of it, and do thou in that matter what thou thinkest fit, for we do not concern ourselves in shipping as thou knowest, for the ships that are in our ports do belong only to private captains, and I have nothing at sea, nor do meddle with these things, neither am I concerned whether their ships do go to sea or stay in port."[1]

He asserted that the question of peace by sea had never before been mentioned between himself and the English. He denied having given authority to Mohammed Ohadu in any particular, "and wanting reasons to justify his proceedings, makes it out in noise and high language," remarked Kirke.

Yet, "noise and high language" notwithstanding, the mere rumour or the coming of a fleet from England in 1683 was enough to change the tone of the Moors. "It is not credible how much they have abated of their former pride," said Kirke, when they believed that provision was to be made for Tangier.[2] At the same time he wrote:—

"Since the Moors perceive his Majesty and the lords of his Council take care of us, they speak no longer in the high strain they were wont, and the Alcade alarmed with the news that stores officers, men, ammunition, and money are coming from England, expresses now an extraordinary complacency and kindness, to that degree as I almost persuade myself we shall at length see our Whitehall treaties ratified."[3]

[1] C.O. 279, 30, f. 340, and Pepys's Misc., ii. 581; *cf.* The Alcaid Hamet's letter to "The Captain of Tangier, Kirke the English." "What benefit has my master in a peace by sea? For neither he, his negroes or renegadoes are concerned therein, but only certain vagabonds that come from various ports, and it amounts to nothing what becomes of such people, for my master, whom God preserve, has no need of the sea or of maritime affairs to make him great and prosperous . . . for less than would suffice for the building and entertaining one ship, he can maintain a thousand horsemen that are more worth than a thousand ships" (Pepys's Misc., ii. 381).

[2] Kirke to Jenkins, 25th January 1682/3 (C.O. 279, 31, f. 59.

[3] Kirke to Colonel Legge, 25th January 1682/3 (Dartmouth MSS., Report, i. 79.

The friendship of the Moors ebbed and flowed according to their opinion of the power of England; several naval victories over the Salli pirates had their effect, and in the summer of 1683 fresh overtures were made to the Governor of Tangier by the Alcaïd Ali Benabdala, who professed to have authority from the Emperor to arrange a peace by sea. Once more it seemed possible that good terms might be obtained for Tangier, yet, as Kirke truly said, there was no reliance to be placed on peace with "a Prince whose inclinations and humours vary every moment, and that follows the dictates only of an unaccountable caprice." Ismâïl would almost certainly soon have devoted his attention and his army to the much-threatened renewal of the siege of the English stronghold, had not Fate in the meantime prepared the destruction of Tangier, by the hand, not of Morocco, but of England.

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CHAPTER XIII

THE ENGLISH GOVERNMENT AND TANGIER—1679-1683

WHEN Tangier first became an appanage of the English Crown, it was, as Burnet says, "spoke of in the Court in the highest strains of flattery,"[1] and no courtier would have dared to disparage the advantages derived from its possession; but by degrees enthusiasm gave way to indifference and indifference to disesteem. After a time voices of protest were heard against the cost of maintaining the garrison; more than once a tentative suggestion was thrown out that it would be as well to abandon the place rather than have it taken by the Moors, and letters received at Tangier from home stated that "the place had many enemies, some very great ones, my Lord Ashley for one."[2] Now and again it was hinted that Tangier was to follow Dunkirk into the hands of the French, and that "Madam Carwell," the King's mistress, was to receive the money paid for it.[3] This rumour persistently recurred and caused great uneasiness in the country, for the sale of Tangier to France would have been as unpopular as that of Dunkirk. The temper of the country was reflected in the debate on the subject which took place in the new Parliament of 1679, when the House, on the advice of Sir Joseph Williamson,[4] "ordered that a Bill be brought in for annexing Tangier to the Imperial Crown of England,"[5] notwithstanding the fact that the passing of the

[1] Burnet, "History of My Own Times," i. 305.

[2] Luke's "Journal," 4th February 1671, Add. MSS., 36528 (Anthony Ashley Cooper, Earl of Shaftesbury).

[3] Louise de Querouaille, Duchess of Portsmouth (Cal. S.P. Dom., 1675, 432, 436, 437, 440).

[4] Anchitell Grey, "Debates in the House of Commons," vii. 99. It has been suggested that the motion was forwarded by Montagu for his own ends. *Cf.* Corbett, "England in the Mediterranean," ii. 100.

[5] "Journals of the House of Commons," ix. 588, 7th April 1679.

Bill would have transferred the burden of maintaining the garrison from the King to Parliament.

Not content with this, the House of Commons also passed a unanimous resolution, "that those who shall advise his Majesty to part with Tangier to any foreign Prince or State, or be instrumental therein, ought to be accounted enemies to the King and Kingdom."[1] The Bill would probably have become law had not the prorogation and subsequent dissolution of Parliament prevented it, for anti-French feeling was acute at the time. For some years there had been in England a growing apprehension of the domination of the French King, whose unrestrained ambition by degrees united the chief countries of Europe in a league pledged to resist his aggressions. There was in the country an ever-increasing feeling in favour of a policy of alliance with Holland, for the Prince of Orange, Stadtholder since 1672, was regarded both as the leader of the Protestant cause in Europe and the upholder of the political principle of the "balance of power" against the threatening supremacy of France.

The King's own aims in foreign policy were in this respect not at one with those of the country; a French alliance was always secretly in his thoughts, even while his actions were guided by a politic compliance with public opinion. He had fallen more and more under the influence of Louis XIV., who for his part did all he could to sow dissension between Charles and his Parliament. It was not surprising that the King should be suspected of wishing to sell Tangier for foreign money, yet even now the aims of commercial and naval supremacy, and of colonial expansion, which had once dominated Charles's foreign policy, were not altogether outweighed by his subservience to France. He seems never to have entertained the idea of abandoning his own position in the Mediterranean to strengthen that of France by the sale of Tangier to Louis; Barillon, the French Ambassador, at least, had no serious thought that the transaction would ever be made.[2]

[1] Grey's "Debates," etc., vii. 101, 9th April 1679.

[2] Bashet's "Transcripts," 40, ff. 215, 219 (P.R.O.). Barillon to Louis XIV., 17th April and 20th April 1679. *Cf.* Corbett, *op. cit.*, ii. 127.

Charles was indeed at the time making a real effort to save his African colony, then at the most critical point of the struggle with the Moors. Troops were equipped and supplies collected in the face of great difficulties, and when the new Parliament assembled in October 1680 the King brought the question before it, hoping to obtain the co-operation of the Commons in maintaining the garrison of Tangier, for as he told them, "the expense of it amounted to so vast a sum, that without their support it would be impossible for him to undergo it."[1]

On 15th November the following message from the King was delivered to the House:—

"His Majesty did in his speech, at the opening of this Session, desire the Advice and Assistance of his Parliament in relation to Tangier. The Condition and Importance of the place obliges His Majesty to put this House in mind again that he relies upon them for the Support of it, without which it cannot be much longer preserved; His Majesty does therefore very earnestly recommend Tangier again to the due and speedy Consideration and Care of this House."[2]

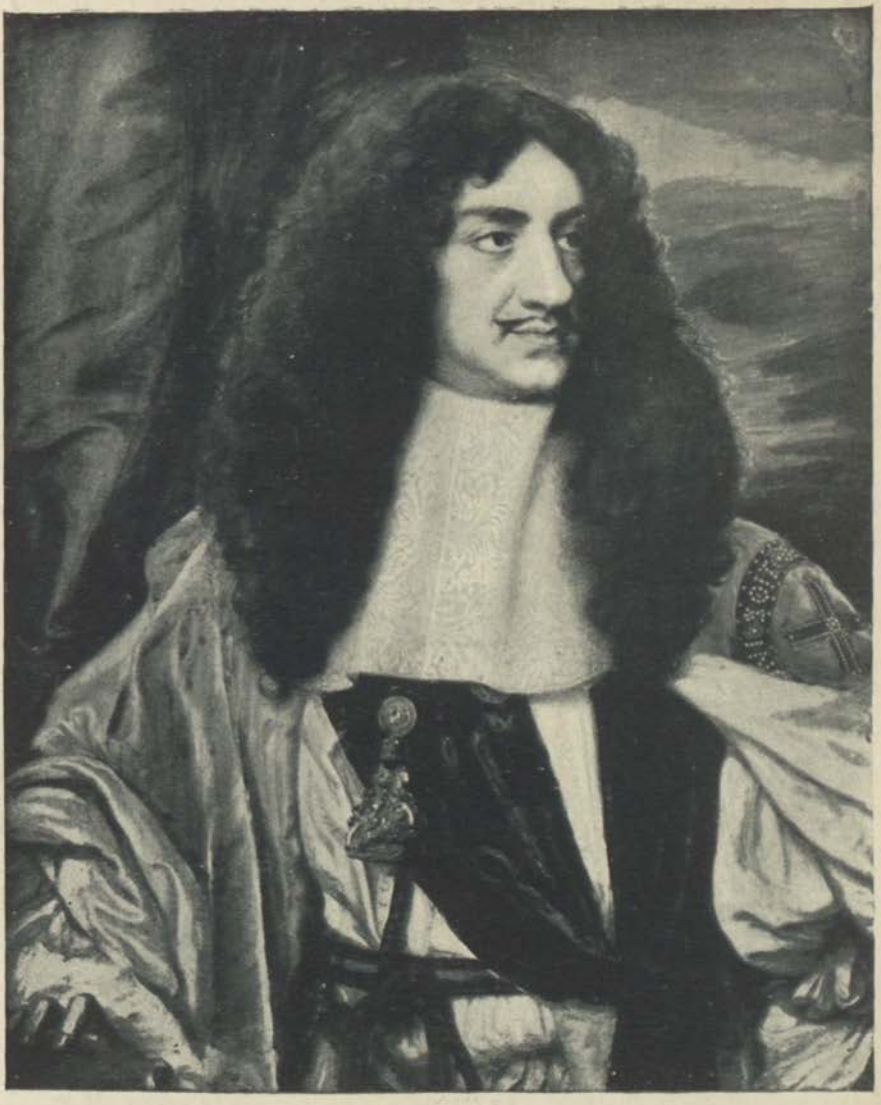
Though the Parliament of 1679 had professed great anxiety on behalf of Tangier, even then there had been very little, if any, concern for the maintenance of the colony for its own sake. The only object of the House had been to prevent its cession to the French—and now even this point was forgotten.

The appeal was made at an unpropitious time. The Parliament of 1680 was far too deeply absorbed in domestic broils to have any consideration to give to Imperial concerns, and too mistrustful of the King to credit him with any honesty of intention.

The storm of religious and political excitement which swept over the country at the time of the so-called "Popish Plot," was not yet spent, and the fortunes of Tangier were caught by the blast. The dread of Catholicism in England had been steadily growing; it was sharpened by the

[1] The King's Speech, 21st October 1680 (Grey, vii. 348).

[2] *Ibid.*, 471, 15th November, and "Commons' Journals," ix. 654.



CHARLES II.

(*From the Picture by* SAMUEL COOPER *in the possession of the* DUKE OF RICHMOND.)

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suspicion of French intrigues at the English Court, and increased by the open adherence of the Duke of York to the Roman Church. It culminated in the panic caused by the disclosures made by Bedloe and the notorious Titus Oates, of an alleged Romanist conspiracy to subvert the Protestant religion, to murder the King, and to place James on the throne.

The one object of Parliament was to secure the Crown and Government from Catholic influence, and to keep as much power as possible in their own hands. The "Country Party" led by Shaftesbury, wished to exclude Catholics from every office and place of trust in the kingdom. The "Test Act" of 1678 was the result of this desire, and it was followed by an attempt to force on the King the "Exclusion Bill" by which James would be deprived of succession to the throne.

The small standing army which Charles had gradually raised, and which was entirely under his control, was regarded as a menace to the liberty of England; it was feared that in the hands of James it might be used as an instrument to terrorise the country and to force an alien religion upon an unwilling people. The lessons taught by the reigns of Mary I. and of Oliver Cromwell had been well learned by the nation, which was left with an ineffaceable determination to be ruled neither by priests nor soldiers. It is to these two causes that may be traced the downfall of Tangier, which was regarded by a certain party as an element of danger to Protestantism and to parliamentary independence, and as a weapon of which it might be well to deprive the Royal House. Not only was Tangier an admirable military training ground, and a depôt for troops of undoubted loyalty to the King, but it was also known to contain many Irish Catholics. Popery was no bar to promotion in the garrison, and the religious toleration practised at Tangier was regarded with deep disfavour at home. The King's appeal for the increase of the garrison renewed the suspicion already felt by Parliament. The temper of the House is illustrated by the debate on the reply to be sent to the Royal message.[1]

[1] Grey's "Debates," etc., viii. 4-21.

The debate was opened by Sir William Jones, who said:—

"Tangier is a place of great moment, but I take the preservation of Religion to be much greater. For us to consult the preservation of Tangier now, is as if an enemy were landed in England we should consult the preservation of Guildhall . . . Tangier is no part of England and for us to provide for it, as things stand now, is to weaken our own security. Tangier has a Popish Church."

He added that the number of Portuguese priests there had been allowed to increase, that a former Popish Governor was now imprisoned in the Tower,[1] that supplies had been sent from Ireland, and that Parliament was now asked for a large sum of money in order to raise and support an army to endanger itself.

Mr Hyde in reply, having remarked that the officers and soldiers at Tangier took the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, pointed out that it was not a question of putting off the discussion of the affairs of Tangier to a more propitious moment; it must be now or never.

Mr Hampden, in a fiery speech was for making a "plain bargain" with the King, and not to be always fencing. Let Protestantism first be secured, and the money should then be given.

Mr Harbord said that the place was a seminary for Popish priests and soldiers too, and dreaded the return of the troops to England.

Colonel Titus feared, from experience, that the money would not be used for the purpose for which it was voted.

Mr Love, a merchant who knew the Mediterranean well, made some disparaging remarks about the harbour and the Mole, and advocated blowing it up, rather than spend £200,000 a year on it.

Sir William Temple said that doubtless Spanish ports would be more serviceable to us, and at present we were allowed the use of them; but he feared lest Tangier should fall into the hands of the French, who would make it the block-house of the Mediterranean, and use the pirates of Algiers as their hounds to destroy our trade.

[1] Lord Belasyse. Imprisoned on suspicion of complicity in the Popish plot.

Finally a committee was appointed to draw up an address in answer to the King's request for "Advice and Assistance in relation to Tangier,"[1] and on 27th November it was read in the House by Mr Hampden. "His Majesty's faithful Commons" began by a reference to the present condition of Tangier

"as one Infelicity more added to the afflicted Estate of your Majesty's faithful and loyal subjects. . . . And we are the less surprised to hear of the Exigences of Tangier when we remember . . . it hath been several times under the command of Popish Governors . . . that the Supplies sent thither have been in great part made up of Popish Officers and Soldiers."

The address was of great length, but the sum of it was that "with all humility and reverence" the House of Commons declared their inability

"to enter into any further consideration of this matter, especially to come to any resolutions in it, before we are effectually secured from the Imminent and apparent Dangers arising from the Power of Popish Persons and Counsels."

A few criticisms were ineffectually made in a debate on the irrelevancy of the address; Mr Garroway in an energetic speech remarked:—

"There is not one word of 'Advice' in it, and as for 'Assistance' you will give it when such and such things are done. You have not considered the mole, fortifications and garrison. The last Parliament you ordered a Bill for uniting Tangier to England, and if you part with the Address so, there will be an eternal issue and obligation upon us."

Sir William Temple remarked that the address was too large for the occasion, and Mr Booth urged the House to "mend the Address that it may be more like an answer."[2]

The address, however, passed without amendment, for Tangier was no more than a pawn in the political game. If the Commons did not actually wish its downfall, yet they were willing to sacrifice it to their own ends. A petition

[1] "Commons' Journals," ix. 655, 17th November 1680.
[2] Grey's "Debate on the Address," viii. 96-101.

from the House presented to the King on 20th December again begged him to assent to the Bill of Exclusion to disinherit his brother, and to insure the holding of every office in the State or Services by Protestants.

"These our humble Requests being obtained, we shall, on our Part, be ready to assist Your Majesty for the Preservation of Tangier and for putting Your Majesty's fleet into such a condition as may preserve Your Majesty's sovereignty of the seas and be for the defence of the nation."[1]

The Bill of Exclusion was rejected by the House of Lords and once more, on 4th January, Charles made an appeal to the Commons to "enable him to preserve Tangier and secure his Alliances Abroad and the Peace and Settlement at Home."[2]

Still the House harped on the same string, and in answer to this last appeal passed a resolution "that . . . until a Bill is passed for excluding the Duke of York, this House cannot give any Supply to His Majesty."[3] The King would not sacrifice the interests of his brother to save Tangier. He gave up the hopeless attempt to win the support of the Commons, and from 28th March 1681 to the end of his reign he governed without a Parliament.

Two more years passed before Charles could bring himself to part with the colony from which he had once hoped so much; but its loss was now only a matter of time. The King's government was to a large extent dependent on the financial aid of Louis XIV., who sent his subsidies on condition of dictating Charles's foreign policy, and could not be expected to support the English settlement in Africa which he had long regarded with jealousy as the barrier to his own supremacy in the Mediterranean.

It could no longer be doubted that an increased expenditure would be necessary to defend Tangier against the Moors. Appeals for more men and money were continually made, and could not be met. Colonel Sackville, who was closely watching the trend of events, wrote from London to Henry Shere, his "best friend" at Tangier, that

[1] "Commons' Journals," ix. 684-685.
[2] *Ibid.*, 699, 4th January 1680/1.
[3] *Ibid.*, 702, 8th January 1680/1

he was assured, "from some private discourse with one of the chief ministers," that the government was incapable of undertaking another war with Morocco, and that Tangier might be given up to Spain "if the Spaniard could give anything almost for it," but that all now depended on the Morocco Ambassador.[1]

If a renewal of peace on better terms could have been obtained from the Moors, Charles might still have maintained the garrison on its former footing. More than that he could not attempt, and on the rejection of the Whitehall treaties by Mulaï Ismâïl, he finally abandoned his already faded hopes of African Empire.

The Duke of York, Sunderland, and Rochester, the most confidential advisers of the King, were urging him to recall the Tangier garrison as a support to the monarchy in case of need.[2] James felt that three thousand loyal troops within call might be invaluable in upholding his right to the throne against the claims of Monmouth. He had no conception of the wider policy which Charles, with open eyes, consented to give up for the sake of temporary expediency; as Buckingham once aptly said, "the King could see things if he would, and the Duke would see things if he could."[3]

Sunderland afterwards admitted that the idea of abandoning Tangier was adopted by his advice, and it was thought to have originated with him.[4] Barillon says that he urged it upon the King in opposition to Halifax and "those who wished to please the nation," and he seems to have made an attempt to arrange the cession of the port to the French.[5]

Even now, however, Charles could not be persuaded to set that which had once been thought "the brightest jewel of his Crown," in the diadem of another monarch; he preferred to cast it into the sea, and early in 1683 he came to a final decision to level the fortifications of Tangier, to

[1] Sackville to Shere, London, 17th August 1681 (Add. MSS., 19872, f. 73).

[2] Barillon to Louis XIV., 15th August 1683 (Baschet's "Transcripts," 44, 228).

[3] Burnet, *op. cit.*, i. 295.

[4] Pepys to Lord Dartmouth, 6th April 1684 (Smith's "Life," etc., of Pepys, ii. 43, and Pepys's "Tangier Journal," 2nd October 1683, *ibid.*, i. 380).

[5] Barillon to Louis XIV., 15th August 1683 (Baschet's "Transcripts," 44, f. 228, and *cf.* Corbett, "England in the Mediterranean," ii. 127).

destroy the Mole, to ruin the harbour, and to recall the garrison and the colonists to England.

Having once decided to part with Tangier, Charles was impatient to get the business over. Tired of the useless struggle with Parliament and Ministers on behalf of the colony, he was ready to accept the inevitable with his usual cynical indifference, and to dismiss his failure to the forgotten past. He accepted all responsibility for the project, allowing it to be thought that he "was the fondest man in the world of it," and "discoursed publicly of the folly of keeping Tangier any longer."[1]

It was at first intended to send out an expedition in May, but, owing to necessary preparations, it was not until 2nd July that a secret commission was given to Lord Dartmouth,[2] to whom the business was intrusted.

Almost at the last moment the Portuguese Ambassador in London heard of the design, and with anxious haste made an attempt to buy back the ancient possession of Portugal on behalf of the Prince Regent.[3] Portuguese pride was deeply hurt by the idea that Tangier was not thought worth the keeping, and the Count of Castel Melhor drew up a memoir bringing forward every possible argument against the demolition of Tangier. He urged the vast increase of piracy that would inevitably follow the withdrawal of the English from the Straits, to the injury of both Portuguese and English trade. He admitted it might be pretended that the place was no longer defensible against the Moors, since they had become masters of the methods of modern warfare; but how then had it been held during the past three years? It could not be the fragile barrier of a Moorish

[1] Pepys's "Tangier Journal" (Smith, i. 380 381).

[2] George Legge, Lord Dartmouth, 1648-1691. Served with Spragge as volunteer and lieutenant in the Dutch war of 1665-1667, and gained distinction in the Dutch war of 1672-1674, under Prince Rupert. He was Master of the Horse to the Duke of York, to whose service he was devoted. In 1672 he was made Lieutenant-General, in 1681 Master-General of the Ordnance; 1682, created Baron Dartmouth; 1683, Admiral of the Fleet; 1688, Admiral and Commander-in-Chief of the Fleet. He died in the Tower in 1691, having been imprisoned on suspicion of complicity in a Jacobite plot. ("Dictionary of National Biography.")

[3] Barillon to Louis XIV., 15th August 1683 (Baschet's "Transcripts," 44, f. 228).

GEORGE LEGGE, LORD DARTMOUTH, ADMIRAL OF THE FLEET.
BORN 1648. DIED IN THE TOWER OF LONDON 1691.

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promise that had saved Tangier from attack, rather was it the strong garrison which His Majesty had maintained there. Portugal, he continued, was now in a position to defend the place as England had done, for she had ready to hand regular troops seasoned in her wars with Spain. They would be able to take immediate possession of the town, and would thus spare the English Government the vast expense and trouble of the work of demolition.[1]

It may have been at the instance of the Queen that Castel Melhor pleaded so earnestly. There is evidence that Catherine never forgot that Tangier was her own gift to England; her countrymen there were always sure of her interest, and it was through her influence that the Portuguese priests received many privileges by the King's orders. A letter from Lord Dartmouth shows that she regarded the evacuation with keen disfavour,[2] and it cannot be doubted that Castel Melhor's eloquent appeal was drawn up with a view to her approval, if not with her knowledge and consent.

The Portugese arguments were not without an effect on the King, and Lord Dartmouth was hastily summoned to Windsor, just before he sailed, on a secret errand which proved to be the consideration of the proposed cession of Tangier to Portugal.[3] Charles, however, was but catching at a straw. He was persuaded that Portugal could not long hold the place he himself was forced to abandon, and thought that it would almost inevitably slip from her hands into those of France,[4] if not of Morocco.[5] His opinion was fortified by that of Dartmouth, who said he could not see what good would be gained by selling the port to a lesser

[1] Southwell Manuscripts (Add. MSS., 34334, ff. 40 and 50, "Memoir of the Count of Castel Melhor").

[2] Dartmouth's Report from Tangier, 19th October 1683 (C.O. 279, 32, f. 274): "The Address of the Portugues to his Maj^ty I hope will in some measure sattisfye her Maj^ty (if it be possible) besides the fathers of the Church heer have writt a letter to her Maj^ty (as they tell me) in behalf of Dr Kenn and I, so that we are yet both in hopes of not being throwne quite out of her Maj^tys favor."

[3] Letters to Lord Dartmouth from the Earl of Sunderland, the Earl of Rochester, and Sir L. Jenkins, all from Windsor (Dartmouth MSS, Report, i. 88, 89, 3rd and 5th August 1683; *cf.* Corbett, *op cit.*, ii. 130).

[4] Barillon to Louis XIV., 10th August 1683 (Baschet's "Transcripts," 44, f. 243).

[5] Burnet, "History of My Own Times," ii. 437-438.

power,[1] and was eventually ordered to "go on with the first design."[2]

A few days later Dartmouth wrote to Sir Leoline Jenkins:—

"I cannot but think of the project I was sent for to Windsor, and how unsettled such variations of councells would have seemed, the delivery of it to Portugall would have raised jealousyes of a trick with France in most men's minds. . . . I cannot but thinke it best for his Majestie to save the lives and estates of his subjects before any necessity or dishonourable misfortune happen to the place. . . . By the help of God I will so order it that it shall be no reproach to his Majestie nor any future annoyance to Christendome, at least in our aige."[3]

[1] C.O. 279, 32, f. 79.

[2] Southwell MSS. (Add., 34334, f. 41).

[3] "St Hellin's Poynt," 11th August 1683 (C.O. 279, 32, f. 79). The name of Dartmouth's correspondent is not given, but a letter written by Sir Leoline (or Lionel) Jenkins on 20th August is evidently an answer to Dartmouth's letter of the 11th (Dartmouth MSS., Report, i. 88).

CHAPTER XIV

THE EVACUATION OF TANGIER—1683-1684

THE details of Dartmouth's expedition were arranged with the utmost secrecy; not a word of its true purpose was made public. The Court party, fearing an outbreak of popular indignation from the provinces, should the truth become known, kept everything in their own hands. The fleet of twenty-one sail assembling in the Downs was ostensibly destined for the succour of the Tangier garrison, and Lord Dartmouth held his commission not only as Admiral of the Fleet, but also as "Captain-General, Governor and Commander-in-Chief of Tangier," as all previous governors had done. His commission and instructions were both, for greater precaution, written "in Mr Secretary Jenkins's own hand."[1] The Admiralty was kept completely in the dark until the Admiral's flag was flying.[2] Even Pepys, who received a Royal Command to join the expedition, and who was, with Colonel Kirke, appointed special counsellor to Lord Dartmouth, knew nothing of his business till he had been five days on board, when he says

"my Lord in discourse in his cabin, broke to me the truth of our voyage, for disarming and destroying Tangier, the first moment he ever spoke or I ever thought of that, as the intent of our going."[3]

[1] Pepys's "Diary" at Tangier, 14th August 1683 (Smith, i. 332). The commission and instructions were dated 2nd July 1683. An Admiralty commission was sent to Dartmouth on 4th August (C.O. 279, 32, ff. 60 and 156; and Dartmouth MSS., Report, i. 83).

[2] Dartmouth MSS., Report, i. 93.

[3] Pepys's "Diary" at Tangier, 13th August 1683 (Smith, i. 326, 331). Pepys to Evelyn, from Portsmouth, 7th August 1683.

"Your kind summons of the 2nd Inst. has overtaken me here, where it cannot

It was arranged that Dartmouth was to keep the secret until he should have carried out the farce of an elaborate enquiry into the condition of Tangier. The garrison, fortifications, Mole, harbour, buildings and stores were all to be examined and reported upon, and the result of the enquiry was to be such as to reconcile public opinion to the evacuation; the Commissioners were well aware that their reports must be unfavourable.

It was not without great difficulty that Dartmouth collected his ships, men, and money.[1] He was delayed for several days by strong winds and "thick dirty weather," and complained "how unserviceably the ships were shuffled out of the river."[2] Though he hoisted his flag on the *Grafton* on 8th August it was not until the 23rd that he could sail from Plymouth Sound.

An account of the expedition is given by Pepys in the diary which he kept from his departure from London on 30th July.[3]

It appears from this journal that there was plenty of work to be done during the voyage. Pepys had to examine Lord Dartmouth's instructions and Major Beckman's plans for the demolition of Tangier, and to draw up a list of arguments to convince the world of the reasonableness of

be more surprising for you to find me, than it is for me to find myself. The King's command (without any account of the reason of it), requiring my repair hither, at less than eight-and-forty hours warning: not but that I, now not only know, but am well pleased with the errand; it being to accompany my Lord of Dartmouth (and therewith to have some service assigned me for his Majesty), in his present expedition, with a very fair squadron of ships to Tangier.

"What our work nevertheless is, I am not solicitous to learn, nor forward to make griefs at, it being handled by our masters as a secret. This only I am sure of, that over and above the satisfaction of being thought fit for some use or other, ('tis no matter what) I shall go in a good ship, with a good fleet, under a very worthy leader, in a conversation as delightful, as companions in the first form in divinity, law, physic, and the usefullest parts of mathematics, can render it, namely, Dr Ken, Dr Trumbull, Dr Laurence, and Mr Sheres . . . and a reasonable prospect of being home again in less than 2 months."

[1] Dartmouth MSS., Report, i. 87. Rochester to Dartmouth, 1st August 1683, apologising for being able only to send him bills for £10,000 instead of £20,000.

[2] Dartmouth's letters of 11th and 19th August (C.O. 279, 32, ff. 79 and 87).

[3] "Life, Journals and Correspondence of Samuel Pepys" (John Smith (1841)).

the evacuation. Henry Shere and Dr Trumbull, who was associated with Pepys, had to be acquainted with the design and consulted about its achievement, and numberless details of business filled the days of the voyage until on Friday morning, 14th September, the fleet cast anchor in Tangier Road.

If those who knew the reason of its coming had not been too busily concerned in the present to spare any sentiment for the past, they might have thought of that other fleet which had anchored in the bay nearly twenty-two years earlier, when Englishmen had first looked with the eager glance of possession on the Gate of Morocco, now doomed to be closed to them for ever, and had hoped that it might open for them the road to wealth and fame and Empire, dreaming that through it they might one day pass to the conquest of the unknown land lying under the blue hills visible in the far distance.[1] To Henry Shere at least the occasion must have been tinged with melancholy, as he looked for the last time at the Mole, his own handiwork, standing strong and solid, with its batteries of guns, a menace to the pirates of the Mediterranean, and a guardian of English commerce, and reflected that within a few weeks this triumph of engineering, the result of years of labour, would be a mere heap of ruins at the bottom of the bay.

Whatever the memories of vanished hopes that may have haunted Shere, it is certain that at all events no useless regrets disturbed the prosaic soul of Samuel Pepys. The first day spent by him in Tangier is marked in his "Diary" by no more than the following laconic entry:—

"*Monday* (*17th August* 1683).—All the morning writing letters for England. Ten. On shore with my Lord the first time, all the ships and the town firing guns. Met, and conducted in great state to the Castle. After dinner, see the ladies, mightily changed. The place an ordinary place, overseen by the Moors. Amazed to think how the King hath lain out all this money upon it. Good grapes and pomegranates from Spain. To-night, infinitely bit with chinchees."

[1] Pepys wrote on 20th October 1683 Smith, i. 425-426: "Coming back on the water I first see how blue the remote hills will look about the sun's going down as I have seen them painted, but never believed them natural."

Lord Dartmouth was anxious to be his own herald at Tangier, but he found on arrival that the secret of his mysterious expedition, which had been the object of much speculation in England, was already known, or at least suspected, in the garrison. On 16th September he wrote:—

"My coming hither seems to have been long expected and the errant I come upon, the inhabitants ready to be packing up at my first appearance . . . thus the great secret hath been kep'd . . . much of this may come from the flying reports that were in London, yet I am sure the Governor hath had full informacion of all, and that a good while since. . . . The Prior of the Convent had an account of what passed when I was at Windsor last from the Queene's Confessor, but for all this it shall be effectually done if I am able."

At all events Kirke was prepared to receive the news with calmness; he was invited to dine on board the *Grafton* on the day of the arrival of the Fleet, and

"verry readally imbraced the Propposition," wrote Dartmouth, "and I am confident will heartally assist me in all things for his Majestie's service. We agreed togeather to endeaver to allay the noyes of blowing it up what possibly we could for the present."[1]

The two Governors gave orders for the several surveys to be made in order to disarm suspicion as far as they could, and agreed to treat civilly with the Alcaïd Ali Benabdala and "amuse" him as much as possible.

During the last two years Kirke had been engaged in constant disputes with the Moors, interspersed with more or less friendly correspondence and an exchange of gifts between himself and the Emperor, including some Irish greyhounds sent by Kirke, and "12 cows and a Christian woman," received by him from Mulaï Ismâïl. The Emperor vowed that "if none but Kirke and his wife should be left in Tangier alone, he would not betray him," but the relations between them gradually became strained.[2] When

[1] Dartmouth's report of his arrival at Tangier (C.O. 279, 32, ff. 137-139).

[2] Kirke's account of the "passages of several months" between himself and the Alcaïd Ali Benabdala of Alcazar is given in the Dartmouth MSS., Report, i. 90-92.

Dartmouth arrived at Tangier he found that a Moorish army was again encamped near the town, and an attack was constantly threatened. He told Pepys "It was as well they were come, for the Governor and the Alcade would within these ten days have broken out into a rupture, Kirke did carry himself so hot in all his business." Kirke was more than once accused of wishing to stir up war, but he indignantly denied the charge, and indeed he seems to have exercised considerable diplomatic skill in the preservation of peace.

By a special clause of his instructions, Dartmouth was directed to conceal from the Moors as long as possible his purpose of withdrawing the garrison from Tangier; but it was not long before they were fairly sure of the truth. Their spies discovered all secrets, and according to Kirke's report, they "knew all our affairs, even the deliberations of the Council at home." It was feared that their suspicions might encourage them to attack the town, and Dartmouth, anxious to avoid the complication of war before his work should be accomplished, entered into friendly negotiations with the Alcaïd of Alcazar, sent him presents of cloth, lances, and cambric, twelve barrels of fine powder and three dozen bottles of cyder, and granted his request for a personal interview, hoping to discover how large a Moorish force was in the field.

Dartmouth felt that the most effectual means of maintaining peace was to create an impression of overwhelming strength, and elaborate preparations were made for an imposing review to be held on 28th September.

The garrison was reinforced for the occasion by one thousand seamen, under command of Sir John Berry. Four hundred of them, for better effect, were put for the day into new red coats brought over for Trelawny's and the Scotch Regiment, and were provided with "eight colours of Col. Trelawny's regiment." Others were "clothed with white and blue striped linen, fitted with muskets, pikes and pole-axes, with four Union flags."[1] Pepys remarked that "they and their officers did make as good an appearance, and gave with the small shot as good a volley, or better, than the soldiers."

[1] Dartmouth MSS., Report, i. 94, and iii. 40 and 51.

On the morning of the 28th, Pepys continues:—

"About eleven my Lord and we, and his family, went out on horseback without the town. We had a sight of our army, finely disposed above the hills, and wholly down to the sea, just without the town-walls."

Lord Dartmouth himself wrote a long report of the review,[1] saying that he disposed his forces to the utmost advantage, and

"drew out in order upwards of 4000 men, besides strong guards and the burgers left in the Towne. I kep'd Pole forte on my write hand and the whole body stoode under covert of that, Browne George, the Irish battery and the seamens lodgment, where seven small feild peeces were planted towards the sandhills and a battalion of Trelawny's regiment drawne up."

The left of the garrison forces reached to Fountain Fort, thence the seamen were posted all along the sands, flanked by the guard boats and the rest of the boats of the fleet close into the shore, the crews armed with blunderbusses and hand-grenades, and commanded by Captain George Aylmer. "At the utmost extent of the seamen cross the sands," stood Lord Dartmouth, with several gentlemen, the volunteers of the fleet, commanded by Lord Berkeley, and most of the Horse.

Presently the Alcaïd advanced to meet the British officers, the Moorish troops also being disposed as effectively as possible. Pepys says:—

"His army was drawn up not so thick as ours, but very artificially, two deep, and that in but few places to make a greater show, though we believe they had not above 2500 in the field, but we few horse and they a great many."

Many compliments passed between Dartmouth and the Alcaïd, who talked together by interpreters.

"Their style is extremely fine and most for compliment," remarked Pepys, who was very favourably impressed by the

[1] Dartmouth's Report of 19th October 1683 (C.O. 279, 32, f. 273). An account of the review almost similar to this is printed in the Dartmouth MSS., Report, i. 51.

Moors, "the Alcade and his company appeared like very grave and sober men. His discourse and manner were very good, and I thought, with more presence of mind than our master's, though he also did extremely well. Their appearance and habits I liked very well. The Alcade's son, a pretty youth, in particular exercised by and by, very neatly."

At Lord Dartmouth's desire, Colonel Kirke and the Alcaïd shook hands, and agreed to enter upon a new treaty. The Moorish Horse then made their usual display for state occasions,

"showing great dexterity in horsemanship and handling their lances, but very confused in their order. Their halloo is an odd sort of noise, nothing so mellow nor cheerful, nor strong and full as ours," comments Pepys.[1]

Then there was "great shooting with small shot on both sides," and all the English guns fired salutes as the Moors took their leave. While they moved off, Kirke's regiment marched to Peterburgh Tower, and "the whole body being in motion, begirt the whole town round with soldiers towards them, so that we seemed more than we really were."[2]

The Moorish chief took leave with every expression of goodwill;

"but," said Dartmouth, "the truth was the Alcade was willing enough to be friendes, for with all the kinde wordes that passed he did not at all like our countenances, for I beleeve he never saw so formidable a force togeather since his Majesty had Tangeire . . . they have lived extreamly well with us ever since."[3]

During the winter much correspondence was carried on with the Moors concerning a revision and renewal of the treaty of peace, but neither side was in earnest, "the gaining of time," as Dartmouth said, "being both our ends." He had some thought of sending a formal intimation to the Alcaïd of his intention of demolishing the town, "which," he said, "would be more to his Majestie's honour than

[1] Pepys's "Diary" at Tangier, 28th September 1683.
[2] Dartmouth MSS., Report, iii. 52.
[3] C.O. 279, 32, f. 273.

sneake from them when an Army are witnesses of what we doe," but Pepys dissuaded him from taking this step.[1]

On Thursday, 4th October, Lord Dartmouth made a formal proclamation of his errand at the "Town-house," acquainting the "Mayor Corporation and inhabitants of Tangier," with His Majesty's commands, "to draw off and bring back all his subjects, both souldiers and inhabitants, and then forthwith demolish and utterly destroy the place, mole and harbour."

In a long speech Dartmouth brought forward all the "arguments for destroying Tangier," which had been carefully prepared by Pepys during the voyage. He urged (1) the great expense of Tangier to the King as, in spite of his recommendations, the place had been utterly neglected by Parliament. (2) The ruinous state of Tangier and the need of much more ground, which by its nature would be difficult to defend, even at enormous cost. (3) The "perpetuall alarums and interruptions to be expected from the Moors, now much more knowing in the Art of Warr, skilfull, better armed, and supplyed with canon and ammunition, and more insolent, troublesome and dangerous than could be foreseen, when His Majesty accepted Tangier." (4) The difficulty of provisioning Tangier, and the risk of starvation to the inhabitants. "But above all what must your sad condition have been if the late horrid Conspiracy[2] . . had succeeded!" (5) The uselessness of the Mole, which had occasioned the removal of naval stores to Gibraltar. Dartmouth then assured his audience that His Majesty's tender care for his subjects had determined him no longer to expose them to such great dangers from "potent and ambitious neighbours or Mercilesse Mahometans"; that compensation should be granted them for their property, all just claims and debts settled, and that every one should be shipped off at the King's expense, and their advantage regarded as to employment in England.

The long list of unworthy excuses for the evacuation of Tangier appears to have been after all hardly necessary. The proclamation was generally received with professed

[1] Dartmouth's Report of 5th October 1683 (C.O. 279, 32, f. 191). Pepys's "Diary" at Tangier, 21st and 24th September (Smith, i. 360, 366).

[2] The Rye House Plot.

approval, and two addresses to the King were drawn up, one from the city of Tangier[1] and one from the Governor, officers and soldiers,[2] praising His Majesty's decision and thanking him for his gracious care of his subjects.

The Commissioners intrusted with the task of surveying the walls and fortifications diplomatically acted upon the counsel of the prudent Pepys, who took care to enquire of Lord Dartmouth "whether the King was indeed satisfied in this business; for we should be able to give our advice accordingly, in reference to what he might expect from it, whether the success was good or bad." Reassured on this point the Commissioners drew up an extravagant report and estimate of the repairs and buildings that would be necessary to put Tangier in a thoroughly good state of defence, and of the forces needed to maintain it during the twelve years that the works would be in progress. Having enumerated each item, and its probable cost, they estimated the sum total at £4,798,561, 16s. 6d.[3]

It was impossible for any one to doubt that this was a prohibitive price for the King's exchequer, and in addition to this demonstration of the reasonableness of abandoning Tangier, the Commissioners added two important arguments against maintaining the place. The first of these was the distress occasioned by scarcity of water, by reason of "the decay or stoppage of all our principal aqueducts (a calamity out of our power to redress), the sources or spring-heads being neither within our possession, nor knowledge where they are," the Moors being "masters of all the good water we at present enjoy." This question of the water supply is an interesting one, as the alleged scarcity and badness of the water was put forward on all hands as one of the chief causes of the evacuation of Tangier.

[1] A copy of the address is printed in the Dartmouth MSS., Report, i. 96, 97, but some of the names given here vary so much as to be almost unidentifiable. (C.O. 279, 32, f. 208, 8th October 1683, forty-four signatures).

[2] Copy of address, Dartmouth MSS., Report, i. 97, 98 (C.O. 279, 32, f. 245, 14th October 1683, sixty-six signatures).

[3] The Report is printed by Colonel Davis, *op cit.*, vol. i. Appendix F. The Commissioners were, Henry Shere, Surveyor-General of the Mole and Fortifications, Colonel Charles Trelawny, Lieutenant-Colonel Boynton, Major Martin Beckman, Captain John Giles, Mr Ewald (Edward?) Tessin and Mr Thomas Phillipps (C.O. 279, 32, ff. 157 164).

It so happened that the year 1683 was an exceptionally dry one; but this fact alone was not sufficient to account for the poverty of the water supply, both in quantity and quality, which forced Dartmouth to send to Spain for water for the fleet, and was the cause of a great deal of illness which suddenly broke out in the garrison in September. There is no doubt that the Moors were tampering with the old aqueducts, for the soldiers affirmed that "they never had any ill effects from the water till the last siege by the Moors, nor any since that time till now."[1]

It was only through the neglect of the Tangerine Government that the want of good water could become an alleged cause of illness; all the earlier accounts of the occupation agree that the supply was both plentiful and good. Two ancient conduits brought water to the town from wells on the Marshàn, and it was this supply that was tampered with by the Moors; but besides this, nearly every garden in the north-west quarter had its well, and in the market place was "a handsome large conduit with a very fair cistern and a cock continually running on each side,"[2] the water being plentiful and the best that could be tasted.

In 1661/2 a fountain was made by the seashore in connection with the conduit at the market-place, for the purpose of supplying ships with water; in 1674 Colonel Alsop had this water-course "laid all with earthen pipes, much better and more secure than them of lead," but this course was allowed to get choked; in 1677 Mr Shere reported that the fleet was supplied with difficulty, "but this with a small charge may be remedy'd."

Two months later Fairborne took the matter in hand, and had the water-course cleared under Captain Boynton's superintendence; "not having been cleaned for many years, it was so stopt with rubish that the great inundation of watter had like to have overflowne the wall of the towne into the sea."[3]

[1] Dartmouth's Report, 16th September, 1683 (C.O. 279, 32, f. 138).

[2] "G.P.," this account is confirmed by another (Rawlinson MSS., D. 916, f. 67), which describes the castle and west of the town as being well supplied with springs of wholesome water, and the east side supplied with a "great water course, stopped by a great fountaine and cisterne in the midst of the great street."

[3] Fairborne to Lords Commissioners, 5th December 1677 (Add. MSS., 17021, f. 38).

As time went on neglect again crept in; the wells in the town became filled up and lost to sight, the fountain in the market-place was fouled by the animals which were allowed to wander in the streets, water became more and more scarce, ships could not always be supplied, until at last it was possible to advance the lack of water as one of the excuses for evacuating the place. There is no greater blot on the Tangerine administration than its carelessness in this respect.

In 1682, Kirke, who was far from being the worst of the Governors of Tangier, made an effort to improve the situation; he opened about fifty wells and, by the help of some "ancient Portuguese," found an excellent water-course which had been unknown for many years.[1] According to Kirke's account, it was Lord Peterburgh who was chiefly to blame in the matter. Pepys writes in his "Diary" in November:—

"Speaking with Kirke about want of water, he owned that, this dry year, if it had not been for Fountain Fort, where our only supply of water is, (of which if the Moors knew they might prevent us) the place could not have subsisted. He added that at my Lord Peterborough's receiving the place from the King of Portugal, a book was given him, with other things always given from one Governor to another, to be never looked into by any other, that did give a secret account of all conduit-heads and heads of water-courses in and about the town; of which this place was the fullest in the world, every house having a particular well or two, now dry, and lost by losing the knowledge whither to go to the conduit-head to remedy it. My Lord Peterborough having taken the book away with him, on being asked for it, hath always answered, he hath mislaid and cannot recover it. Another pretty instance of the fate this place hath always met with."[2]

The second objection raised by the Commissioners was the difficulty of fortifying on the shifting sandhills, which had increased 15 feet in height within living memory. This was a real difficulty, and one which had already been experienced by the engineers. There could be no doubt that the work of keeping up the fortifications would involve

[1] Kirke to Colonel Legge, 16th November 1682 (Dartmouth MSS., Report, i. 78).

[2] Pepys's "Diary" at Tangier, 19th November 1683 (Smith, i. 444-445).

constant expense; it was essential to the safety of the place that the surrounding hills, commanding as they did both town and harbour, should be in English hands, especially since the Moors had begun to learn the use of artillery. The Commissioners had some reason on their side when they suggested that Tangier would be of no value to England unless it had "a prospect of the benefit of a good and safe port," that in order to insure the safety of the port and Mole, more ground, including the sandhills, must be taken in and fortified, and that the necessary fortifications would cost more than the Royal treasury could afford.

Pepys gave expression to the opinion that was becoming fashionable when he exclaimed: "But Lord! how could anybody ever think a place fit to be kept at this charge, that, overlooked by so many hills, can never be secured against an enemy!"

The Commissioners for the land surveys made no difficulty in giving the advice that was expected from them, but it was another matter to persuade the officers of the fleet to sign an unfavourable report on the harbour and the Mole.[1] Eventually, however, this too was achieved, so that no barrier remained to hinder the demolition.

To Pepys, with Dr Trumbull and Mr Bacher,[2] was assigned the task of enquiring into and valuing private property, with a view to ascertaining what rents and debts were owing to the King, and what claims for compensation could legitimately be made upon him. This was a long and tedious business,[3] sufficiently summed up by Pepys as follows:—

"*Septem:ber 26th*—Busy till eight or nine at night, without any interval (only to dinner) to receive claims to property, but, in one word, so silly and supine, all, even people of most understanding among them, that it is plain, there was a habit of disorder, and forgetfulness of method and discipline in all they did, even in their own private concernments; taking such evidences for their security as would not be worth sixpence in Westminster Hall; nor here, if any of the right heirs of the parties they had their titles

[1] *Cf.* chapter on "The Mole and Harbour."

[2] Frederick Bacher, recorder at Tangier. Pepys calls him "Beecher."

[3] *Cf.* Dartmouth MSS., Report, i. 95. Report of the Commissioners, 1st October 1683, and "A Journal of the Proceedings of the Commissioners," etc.

from, would give them any trouble. So that it is, I think, impossible for us to give any tolerable report; to do right either to them or to the King. In which Dr Trumbull and I greatly agree and discourse upon it.' [1]

Before beginning the destruction of the town, Dartmouth was anxious to get the civilians out of the way, leaving only the soldiers and some of the mole-men to do the work. The private inhabitants of Tangier were estimated at about five hundred (one hundred families exclusive of the garrison); Pepys says there were altogether upwards of four hundred children in the place. Owing to the scarcity of provisions, Dartmouth had considerable difficulty in carrying out his instructions to ship off the inhabitants to "their native

Dartmouth MSS., Report, iii. 34, and Rawlinson MSS., A. 196. *Ibid.* An Abstract of net sums payable by His Majesty on account of Proprieties.

	£	s.	d.
Freeholds—			
General	5286	16	0
Portuguese	599	12	9
King of Portugal	1064	0	0
	£6950	8	9
Upon leases from—			
Colonel Fitzgerald	1508	1	1
Lord Bellasis	55	0	0
Colonel Alsopp	178	6	6
Colonel Norwood	1375	18	6
Lord Middleton	1075	16	6
	£4293	8	7
Total	£11243, 17s. 4d.		

All lands and houses at Tangier originally belonged of right to the King, but private individuals soon acquired property; most of the Governors had houses which they let on lease. (*Cf.* Carte MSS., 75, 27, houses in the market-place owned by Lord Sandwich.)

In 1664 a Committee was appointed by Colonel Fitzgerald to enquire into various disorders concerning property, and gave in "an account of houses leased out at Tangier," with "A Rental of his Majesty's houses and lands let from Michaelmas 1664 for 21 years, or by yearly rents," containing about eighty entries, at rents varying from 10 to 60 pieces of 8 *e.g.*, Major P. Fairborne paid 30 pieces of 8 per annum for a house containing five rooms below and five above, with garden and yard, the tenant to do repairs (C.O. 279, 33).

In 1675 a grant was made to the Commissioners for Tangier of all houses, tofts, and lands therein belonging to the Crown, in trust for the King, with power to grant building leases for any term not exceeding ninety-nine years (Cal. S.P. Dom., 13th January 1675, p. 529). *See* Appendix for comparative values of property in 1668 and 1678.

[1] Smith, *op cit.*, i. 368.

countries or to such ports as they should reasonably desire," and they were in some danger of starving before they reached home.[1]

"Our victuals are the thing most wanting to carry on this service as it ought to be," wrote Dartmouth, "the victualers ought to answer it to his Majesty how theye come to let the garrison and fleete be so ill provided for and yet dare give his Majesty so contrary an account to the truth . . . it hath beene the chiefe want for carrying on alwayes his Majesty's services in these partes, therefore pray sir, let the victualers send what they are able with all possible speede."

The garrison stores in September contained supplies for only eight weeks; most of the naval stores were unfit to eat and had to be thrown away, and several ships were already out of provisions. Before Dartmouth's departure from England, all his requests for the examination and organisation of commissariat for his expedition were peremptorily silenced by Rochester, supported by the Duke of York.[2]

"My Lord Rochester," says Pepys, "was angry and asked whether he had a mind to go on the business, as if he doubted he had not. Here a man's courage must be questioned, if he lets his prudence say anything."

Dartmouth was in the deepest anxiety on this score for many weeks, though he had been positively assured by Rochester that he would find provisions in plenty at Tangier. His chief care was for the many invalids who had to be sent home; before leaving England he wrote to Sir Leoline Jenkins:

"pray move that an hospitall ship be sent after me, for consider how ill it will be to mix the sick with the well, and I may chance to send the people away in severall parcels, the one ship cannot serve all . . . there are many famelyes and their effects to be brought off . . . here is but one hospitall ship, the other which is pretended is ordered upon two services at once."[3]

[1] Dartmouth MSS., iii. 45; Pepys's "Diary" at Tangier, 24th September and 18th October (Smith, i. 365-366 and 414).

[2] Pepys's "Diary" at Tangier, 26th August, 24th September, 18th October (Smith, i. 342, 365, 413-414).

[3] Dartmouth to Jenkins, 19th August 1683 (C.O. 279, 32, f. 87).

The *Unity* hospital ship was the first to set sail on 18th October, having on board one hundred and fourteen invalid soldiers and one hundred and four women and children, (most of them belonging to the "Eldest Battalion" of the Governor's regiment),[1] and a few other passengers. The hospital ship *Welcome* waited until all the troops were embarked to pick up the rest of the invalids, and did not sail until 26th February 1684. The cause of the "widowes, fatherles, sicke, lame and almost all manner of wayes necessitous that can neede the help of a good man," was commended to Sir Leoline Jenkins by Dartmouth, who suggested that the widows and children whose husbands and parents had had relation to the sea, might in some measure be taken care of by Captain Chamblett, Deputy Master of the Trinity House, and that the Governors of Christchurch, St Thomas's, St Catherine's, and other hospitals might be of some use, and "the souldyers may finde reliefe from the Deputy Lieutenants in the severall countys if they are earnestly pressed to it." In reply to Dartmouth's appeal for the Tangerines, Jenkins assured him that the King had given special orders for their reception, and that he found even Lord Rochester, from motives of policy,

"resolved to do all that is possible for these poor people, and for those that are coming, with that speed and method as to prevent clamour, it being far better to do that with charity and expedition, and with a good grace, since we must sooner or later be forced to do it."

So well was the affair managed that the Tangerines were apparently satisfied with the treatment they received, and "Mr Mayor," who had expressed discontent with the small amount of compensation paid for his property, "had so full a comfort in kissing the King's hand, that nothing could be added to it."[2] This incident is a striking tribute to the

[1] John Eccles, gunner, usher and writing master to the school, was put in charge of these soldiers' families. They were to be quartered at Falmouth, according to the directions of Lord Arundel, Governor of Pendennis Castle, on an allowance of threepence a day to each soldier's wife, until the arrival of the battalion. (Dartmouth to Eccles, 18th October 1683 (C.O. 279, 32, f 269)).

[2] Jenkins to Dartmouth, Whitehall, 12th, 19th, and 26th November (Dartmouth MSS., Report, i. 99, 100, 101).

proverbial Stuart charm. The disabled soldiers from Tangier were eventually provided for in Chelsea Hospital.

Other passenger ships followed the *Unity* in quick succession at the end of October, and by 5th November all the townspeople had left Tangier, with the exception of a few Italians, who were sent home a little later.[1]

The Portuguese priests were sent to Lisbon "very well satisfied" in the *Centurion* (Captain Wren), and were commended by Lord Dartmouth to Mr Charles Fanshaw, envoy to the Portuguese Court, who wrote that the great kindness shown to the "Canons" was somewhat convenient to divert the ill-humour of the Portuguese ministers, "for they rail at us horribly for razing the place." Special care was taken to satisfy the claims of all the Portuguese;[2] even the "old Portuguese that were inhabitants at His Majesty's first having the place," and who had till now vainly urged their claims for compensation, at last by the King's order, were paid "a valuable consideration for their property." "We applied to adjust with the Portugueses very fully," says Pepys, "and presented it to my Lord, their money coming to near six hundred pounds, with which he was well pleased."

The actual work of demolition proved to be much greater than had been anticipated, and Dartmouth was full of anxiety lest his prolonged sojourn at Tangier should bring him into disfavour at Court. He knew that Rochester expected the whole work to be done in a few weeks, and he was aghast when the engineers told him it would take from four to six months, and "replied very short that they understood not the business, for he had in reserve a way of his own that should do it, without fail, within a fortnight." Kirke, too, with characteristic vehemence, asserted that "he would do it all in a fortnight, or he would be condemned to be hanged."

The engineers, however, proved to be right. The work of so many years was not to be destroyed in a fortnight. Pepys commented sharply on the ignorance and miscalculation of the ministers at home:—

[1] Davis, *op. cit.*, i. 249, gives a list of the shipment of inhabitants.

[2] Dartmouth MSS., p. 83, and Report, iii. 34.

"Their mistake in the business of time is as considerable as any, not judging better what time it would take to do our business, both civil and military, at Tangier. They should have sent us two months sooner, that we might have had a season to work in before the storms and seas come in that we cannot work on the Mole, and long days and fair weather above head to work in; and that out of a hot country poor people might not come at once into a cold at the coldest time."[1]

The destruction of the Mole was the most important and most difficult piece of work, and though two thousand men were employed upon it, three months passed before its ruin was complete.[2]

All through a stormy winter the demolition of the town dragged on, hindered by the violent rains and by the scarcity of all tools and materials needed for the work. The houses and most of the fortifications, with their mud walls and rotting timbers, were pulled down easily enough, but some of the old Portuguese work was of better stuff. A great part of the wall round the town and the castle was "a very thick strong old wall, at bottom founded upon a rocke," and was not entirely destroyed.[3]

During all the time that the soldiers of the garrison were labouring to destroy the walls they had defended for so long, a Moorish army was encamped close at hand, watchful and threatening, and every day they almost expected a sudden attack upon the half-ruined town, for Dartmouth felt sure that the Moors were on the look-out to take any possible advantage of the garrison in this, "the last game we have to play with them." Alternate assurances of friendship and of enmity came in from the Alcaid from time to time, and the Emperor talked of "beginning a bloody war" against the English, intending, he said, first to take Tangier and thence to continue a "Holy War" against Spain, and conquer all the Christians there.

The rainy season, however, did Lord Dartmouth the

[1] Pepys's "Diary" at Tangier, 19th October 1683 (Smith i. 415).

[2] *See* chapter on "The Mole and Harbour."

[3] Part of the old walls and of the "Upper Castle" may still be traced at Tangier.

service of keeping away the main body of Ismaïl's forces, and Ali Benabdala, realising that he could not hope to prevent the destruction of the fortifications, nor to take the city before it and the harbour were ruined, was perforce contented to let events take their course.

On 18th December Dartmouth appointed Commissioners to make a survey of the mines and other preparations for blowing up the castle, forts, and walls of the town, "so as to leave it uninhabitable and without any sort of succour or defence for the Moors or any others that shall attempt to possess themselves of it," and on 20th January they reported that all was in readiness, and well planned, so far as they could judge, "for the total destruction and spoiling the principal works and defences of this town and castle," etc.[1]

With every precaution the forts were dismantled and the mines fired, and the guns taken from the walls. It was not till 5th February that all the mines were sprung, and Lord Dartmouth, as he reported,

"drew out the Garrison and demolished Pole fort and quitted the Out-posts with great safety to the men (and as I hope it will be esteemed) with due honour and regard for his Majestie's service, at least without allowing the Alcade any pretence of being Sainted for driving the English out of Barbary."[2]

The mines were sprung with good success, and the fall of Peterburgh Tower was hailed with a great shout from the watching Moors, who, Dartmouth's optimism notwithstanding, were triumphantly convinced for all time that the English abandoned Tangier "out of sheer fright."[3] The account of the evacuation given by a native writer is that "Tangier was besieged so closely that the Christians had to flee on their vessels and escape by sea, leaving the place ruined from bottom to top."[4]

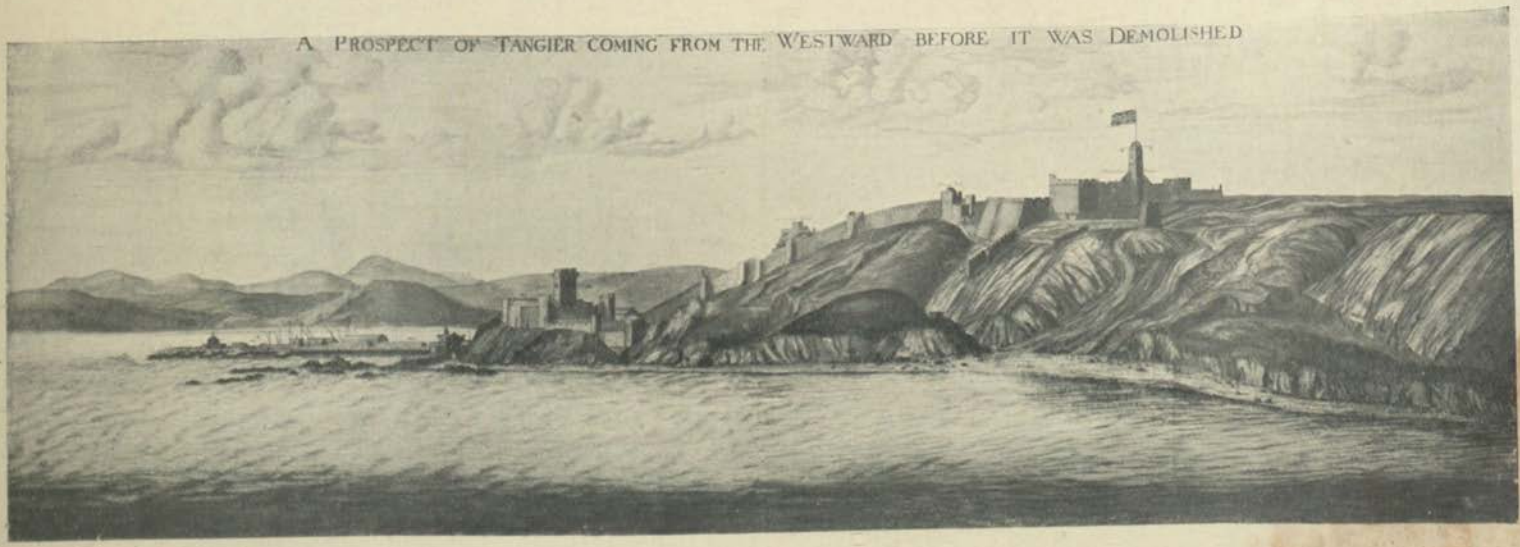
As mine after mine was sprung, the men withdrew by

[1] Dartmouth MSS., Report, iii. 129, 130 (C.O. 279, 33, f. 11).

[2] Dartmouth to Jenkins, 5th February 1684 (C.O. 279, 33, f. 55).

[3] Budgett Meakin, "The Moorish Empire," p. 154, quoting from the native writers, Ez-Zaiáni, El Ufráni, and En Násiri.

[4] El Ufráni (Budgett Meakin, "Land of the Moors," p. 131).



TANGIER FROM THE WEST, BEFORE IT WAS DEMOLISHED, 1683.

BY THOMAS PHILLIPS.

[*To face p.* 264.

companies to the shore, and rowed out across the bay to the ships that were to take them home, singing perhaps, as they crossed the water, the half-melancholy, half-ironical, verses, of *Tangier's Lamentation*,[1] while the Moors, swarming on the sandhills, excitedly pressed up close to the ruined town, faced and held in check by three companies of Grenadiers, who were drawn up "in grand parade," ready at a moment's notice to repel any attempted attack.

By midnight all was finished, and flames rose high in the darkness as a wooden fort by the sea and a useless galley in the bay were set on fire, lighting the desolate scene. The last mine of all, under Whitby Fort, was fired by Lord Dartmouth, who, with the Grenadiers, was the last man to leave the levelled town.

As soon as day broke, the Moors, in spite of warning, rushed in triumph over the ruins, to exult over the departure of the English ships, which were leaving them and their country to the enjoyment of two more centuries of freedom

[1] *Tangier's Lamentation* to the tune of the *Tangier's March*.

"Let the Moors repine, their hopes resign,
Now the 'Pagan troops' are cheated,
Let Foot and Horse disband their force,
Since Tangier is defeated!
Alas, Tangier, what sudden doom
Hath wrought this alteration,
That this thy March should now become
Thy fatal Lamentation?

"Now alas! Tangier, that cost so dear
In money, lives and fortunes
See how the States, the kinder Fates,
For thine own Fate importunes!
Had this been plotted by the Moors,
Alas, it were no matter,
But blown up thus by thy own Store,
Thou'dst better swom in water.

"The old Port Tangier, where for good cheer
We never paid extortion
Which, whilst it stood was once thought good
To be a monarch's portion.
Whilst English hearts thy walls possest
They scorn'd e'er to surrender!
Now to the Foes is left, a Nest
For Serpents to engender." etc.

Nathaniel Thompson: *A Choice Collection of One Hundred and Eighty Loyal Songs*, 1685.

from the iron pressure of Western civilisation. The joy they felt in standing on the ground which for hundreds of years had been trodden only by the feet of Christians, was, however, a little checked by the explosion of a forgotten mine, which blew up unexpectedly and killed more than forty of them.[1]

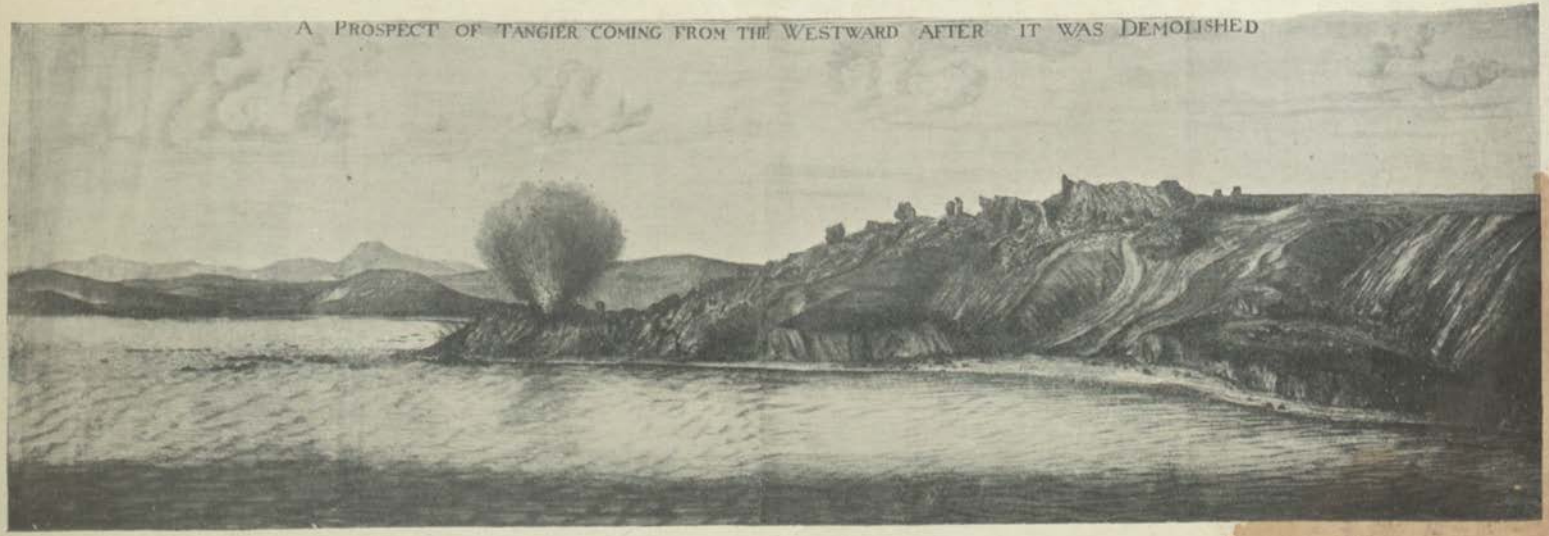
It was with great depression of mind that Dartmouth embarked on the *Grafton* on the conclusion of his errand. It was at best a weary business to destroy the work of so many years, and to abandon an enterprise that had promised so much, and besides this, he could not but feel that he was leaving the mastery of the Mediterranean to be shared by the Barbary pirates and the French, whose navy was now at the zenith of its power.

"The French," he wrote, "endeavour to set up a trade with the Moores both at Salle and Tituan, having a Consul at each place, . . . they have encouraged them from time to time to warr against us, assisting them with amunition and armes of all sorts, and undoubtedly their great ayme is to make themselves masters of the Mediterranean Seas, and all the charge and designs they have had last summer before Alger is plainly to strike a terror into all the Corsairs . . . by which meanes it is to be expected, so many light Frigatts will ailways be at their beck and ready to be hounded against all or any part of the Levant traders, when ever they please."[2]

It was no wonder that English merchants and owners of small trading ships were fearful of their fate at the hands

[1] Dartmouth MSS., Report, iii. 54. In an extract from a private letter (C.O. 279, 33, f. 61) it is stated that eight Moors were killed; but the former is the official account.

[2] Dartmouth to Jenkins, 5th February 1684 (C.O. 279, 33, f. 55. *Cf.* Pepys's "Diary," 29th March 1684; Smith, ii. 41). "Lord Dartmouth is mighty full of it, that the King of France designs by his late and present dealings with Algiers, to make himself master of the Mediterranean, making the Turks his friends, and thereby enemies to us and others. Then, to make himself master of Flanders, thereby of Ostend, and so will plague us with privateers, till he comes to master Holland. Then he will come to us, which he and I agree, he keeps under his thumb, to set about when he pleases. This, by his chargeable increase of navigation, and breeding seamen even in merchant-ships, he certainly aims at. Therefore against that time, he and I should now, and from time to time, be thinking what to do in keeping our force at sea in good order."



TANGIER FROM THE WEST, AFTER IT WAS DEMOLISHED, 1684.

By Thomas Phillips.

of the sea-robbers, when they saw the English flag hauled down for the last time from the western tower of Tangier, though Dartmouth did all in his power to insure their safety by sending the ships of the squadron he left behind to patrol the coast before Algiers and Tripoli and Tunis, while Captain Cloudesley Shovell with the lighter frigates had orders to ply off the Straits mouth, Salli, and the South Cape.[1] These measures did indeed keep the corsairs in check during the evacuation of Tangier,

"but when all is done," remarked the Admiral, "I cannot think a peace with the corsaires lasting without a sufficient squadron of shipps to countenance the trade of our merchants at all times in these parts."

The history of subsequent English and French action in the Mediterranean, and of the gradual decline of piracy, has been often told, and is too long to be repeated here. The history of Tangier itself, after the withdrawal of the British garrison, became merged in that of Morocco.

"Since then," says Budgett Meakin, "its history has nothing worth recording, even as a pirate harbour, the only events of importance being the removal to it of the foreign consuls in 1770, and its bombardment in 1844 by the French."

Dartmouth was beset with anxiety on personal as well as on patriotic grounds; he feared that responsibility for the evacuation might be disowned by the King and charged upon himself, and he knew that enemies at home were trying to bring him into disgrace at Court, on the pretext that most of the time and money spent on the expedition had been wasted by his negligence. "I have long suffer'd by the buzing of these flyes and the envious mallice of the frivolous eye-courtiers," he wrote to Jenkins, and he was anxious to get home as quickly as possible to lay his own case before the King. In spite of his impatience to be gone he was detained in the Straits till the end of February, getting his ships together with great difficulty

[1] *Ibid.*, and Dartmouth MSS., Report, i. 105, and Report, iii. 45 and 46.

in very stormy weather.[1] The *Montagu* was damaged in collision, and had to go to Cadiz to refit; the *Oxford*, *Sapphire*, and *Greyhound*, and a fly-boat fitted up for the transport of horses, were blown right out to sea. "I am making any shift rather than not get them off," said Dartmouth, for he was determined not to return to England until he could bring with him all the troops intrusted to his care.

Until almost the last moment he was engaged in a final attempt to redeem the unfortunate English captives, whose release the Emperor, Mulaï Ismâïl, had promised to Colonel Kirke three years earlier, and who, during all that time, had been vainly hoping for freedom, while the long dispute went on. At last, on 19th February, Dartmouth was able to write that he had effected the release of the slaves,[2] but of the one hundred and thirty Englishman, who were so cruelly disappointed of their liberation at Mequinez in 1681, only fifty-four were now set free. When the fleet sailed, eleven of these were still detained at Tetuan, and only forty-three men were delivered up by the Alcaïd in time to be sent home in the *Greyhound*.[3]

The last voyage home from Tangier was almost the worst in the annals of the English Occupation. The *Grafton* arrived at Plymouth on 30th March, having lost company with three of the frigates in a great storm off the South Cape, and with the *Centurion* in another violent storm in the Channel.[4] The *Greyhound* was forced ashore at Crooks-

[1] Details of the shipment of troops are given by Davis, i. 249-252, from C.O. 279, 33, f. 65.

[2] Dartmouth to Jenkins, 19th February 1684 (C.O. 279, 33, f. 69), and Dartmouth MSS., Report, i. 105.

[3] Lists and notes of redeemed slaves, including Lieutenant Wilson, prisoner from Henrietta Fort in 1680 (C.O. 279, 33, f. 98, and *ibid.*, f. 74 and 76). The question of the release of slaves was still in dispute in 1686, when Ali Benabdala (Governor of Salli) wrote to James II., saying that he had treated with Captain Priestman concerning peace, but had arrived at no conclusion by reason of the article concerning slaves, "which I desire your Royal Majesty will be pleased to leave out of the treaty, since it will be very easy, after the peace is settled, to set the English slaves at liberty, wherein I engage my word and honour" (C.O. 279, 33, f. 112, 5th November 1686).

[4] Dartmouth to Jenkins, 30th March 1684 (Plymouth) (Dartmouth MSS., Report, iii. 111).

haven, and a fly-boat, laden with guns and ordnance stores, ran ashore at Mount's Bay, where a quantity of muskets were pilfered, and some horses drowned. After many mishaps, however, the ships came to port, and by the beginning of April 1684 all the men of the Tangier regiments were at last landed in England after their long term of foreign service. They received a sincere welcome from the King, and from the most thorough partisans of the monarchy, for it was felt that the unquestioned loyalty and widespread reputation of the Tangerine troops would add no inconsiderable weight to the decrees of the despotic government which Charles had now established. All the Tangerines were received by the King with marked graciousness, the released slaves were sent straight to Whitehall to be presented to him, soldiers and civilians alike were carefully provided for, that none might have cause for complaint, and Dartmouth found that his fears of disgrace were groundless. Charles had no intention of disowning the responsibility for the evacuation, and Dartmouth was assured on his arrival in England, "of the entireness of his Majesty's goodwill towards his Lordship, and unshaken satisfaction in every part of his conduct of the service he was come from."[1]

The loss of Tangier caused far less public excitement than had been anticipated by the Government; the general feeling appears to have been one of indifference, or at most of regret, not that the port was now abandoned, but only that it had not been given up in time to save the lives and treasure that had been poured into it during the last four years. As *Tangier's Lamentation* had it:—

"Of how many Souls and large Punch bowls
Has this been the undoing?
How many tun of precious Coin
Lie buried in the Ruin?
Had this been done some years ago,
Of Horsemen and Postillions
T'had sav'd some thousand Lives the blow,
And sav'd beside some Millions!"

[1] Dartmouth MSS., i. 112.

Here and there, however, an indignant protest was made against the evacuation. The opinion of those who most strongly opposed it is expressed in a letter received by Pepys at Tangier, when the secret first became public.

"I am sure," says the writer, "in no age, nor by any people, was ever Tangier thought so useless and contemptible as not worth keeping, till this we live in, and that by our own countrymen. If we will go as high as history affords us records, we shall find Tangier always esteemed. . . . When the English had got Tangier, they, as well as all the world, believed they had a considerable and important place. . . . The French covet, the Spaniard and the Hollander dread it, one as to trade, the other from neighbourhood, and the prejudice they may receive from it. Then, of the safeguard and convenience as to trade, in case of a war with Spain, none that knows anything is ignorant.

"After all, must a place, qualified with so many advantageous and unequalled benefits, be parted with on the score of its being chargeable, and we the only people that ever thought so? Where is the honour and reputation of the nation? That alone, a man should think, were sufficient argument for its preservation. The parting with it in any manner will render us very inconsiderable and necessitous to all the world; for what will they think of us, esteem or dread us, if we cannot maintain a place so much our convenience to preserve? It may be the parting with the place may draw a war on us, costing as much to the public treasury, and private men's purses, as would maintain Tangier twenty years, if not more. And must nothing in future be minded, but all in a heat a present charge be removed, which were better maintained than altered?"[1]

The writer of the letter fully realised the potential European importance of Tangier, though he left it to a later age to speculate on the widespread effect that its retention might have had, either for good or ill, on the course of English colonial history. It can hardly be doubted that, had England held Tangier until the death of Mulaï Ismâïl, she would then, if not before, have extended her rule far beyond the borders of the town. The domination of England would have given to Morocco at least a well-

[1] Charles Russell to Pepys, Cadiz, 7th October 1683 (Smith, i. 385).

intentioned government, an efficient army, roads, and railways, the increase of industry and trade, and all the benefits or disadvantages—according to the point of view—imposed by an alien and complex civilisation. To England it would have given a foremost place in the modern international race for the possession of Northern Africa, an extensive hold on the Atlantic and Mediterranean sea-boards, and a wealthy, if troublesome, dependency, which might possibly have been supported and developed at the expense of the Indian Empire. The removal of England's hand from the Straits in 1684 cost her a great loss of prestige in Europe, in Morocco, and in the pirate States. It coincided with the eclipse of English naval power, which continued until two more reigns had passed, and the days came when some of the Tangerines were able to take their part in retrieving the honour of their country; when Fairborne's son served in the unending conflict with the Barbary corsairs, and Roger Elliot, another ensign of the Tangier Regiment, was made the first Governor of Gibraltar, the rock which England took, instead of the shifting sandhills of Tangier, to be her watch-tower at the gates of the Mediterranean.

CHAPTER XV

SOCIAL LIFE AT TANGIER

THE population of Tangier varied considerably in number from time to time, but was never very large. The garrison consisted usually of about twelve hundred to fourteen hundred soldiers, English, Irish, and Scotch; occasionally increasing to two thousand or more. Besides the garrison there were usually about six hundred inhabitants, including some English merchants, and a sprinkling of Portuguese, Spaniards, Dutch, French, Italians, and Jews.[1]

Social distinctions were strongly marked. The Governor and his family, with the principal officers of the garrison and the chief engineers, formed a select coterie of "about 20 families that were conversant one with the other," which admitted to their most exclusive entertainments only the distinguished visitors who came to the place from time to time, the successive commanders of the Mediterranean Fleet, and the "gentlemen captains" of the King's frigates.

Towards the end of the Occupation, even this small society was diminished. Pepys wrote in 1683: "I see few women of any quality or beauty in the place, only the Mayoress, and two sisters of his and hers appear gentlewomen."

Next in rank came a group made up of the municipal dignitaries, the minister and doctors, the schoolmaster, the minor officials of the Mole office, the treasurer's agent, the Governor's secretary, and the more important merchants.

[1] Dartmouth MSS., i. 27, 85; Pepys, MSS., 2899, No. 15, f. 60 (Bolland's "Mediterranean Papers"); Colonel Davis, *op. cit.*, i. pp. 126 and 240. *See* Appendix II. (C.O. 279, 19, f. 371).

This group was linked to the other by a few of the subaltern officers, who were not above enjoying less exalted entertainment than that of occasional official dinner-parties at the Castle.

Below this again were the private soldiers and their families, the Mole workpeople, shopkeepers of the poorer sort, and various hangers-on of the garrison. Besides all these there was a shifting company of foreigners, with social gradations of their own, ranging from the well-to-do merchant to the lowest adventurer from some Mediterranean port. Apart from all were the Jews, some of Barbary and some of Europe, with their own quarters and synagogue. There were also the slaves, chiefly Moors and Turks, belonging to His Majesty's galleys, and a few who served private individuals.[1]

In the early days of the Occupation there were a few free Moors in the town, who acted as guides to the garrison, and brought in horses and cattle;[2] but the native population was never considerable.

In addition to the residents, there was nearly always a number of sailors in the town. Trading vessels, both English and foreign, were sometimes kept in the harbour by adverse winds. There was usually a frigate or two told off to keep in touch with the place, and one or two naval commanders had houses in the town, and spent a good deal of time on shore.

Types of many nationalities met then, as they do now, in the sunny, squalid streets of "Thighrah Tanjah" (frontier Tangier); up in the market-place, Barbary Jews and stalwart country Moors bargained with Tangerine shopkeepers, English, Portuguese or Dutch, haggling over the price of lean fowls and luscious fruits. Down in the town, at the open door of an

[1] Bolland, 1676 (Pepys's MSS., 2899, f. 60) estimates the galley slaves at "something more than 300" and "Indian slaves and blacks belonging to particular men 50." But "a list of slaves belonging to His Mat[ies] bagnia at Tangier" in 1677, contains only seventy-nine names (C.O. 279, 20, f. 135), and the surveys of 1676 and 1678 put the slaves belonging to private people at seventeen only.

[2] Cal. S.P. Dom., 14th January, 1666/7. *Petition of Peter the Moor*, to the King, to be mounted and listed in the life-guard, or to have some employment in the navy. Served five years at Tangier, bringing in horses and cattle, etc. for the garrison. His brother and twelve other natives slain in the service.

unsavoury tavern, might be seen soldiers of the Governor's regiment, sitting at dice, two or three new red coats among them marking recruits fresh from England or Ireland, who carelessly gambled away their last penny of pay heedless of the future, while the keeper of the tavern, a soldier's widow, quarrelled with a neighbour across the way, only pausing in a volley of shrill-tongued curses—the termagants of Tangier were notorious for bad language—for fear of being marked down for the scolds' ducking-stool, as the city constable passed by. Now three or four tall grenadiers, Captain Hume's "brave Scottish boys," swing down the narrow street, waking the echoes with a rollicking stave of the "Granadeer's Rant." Presently a grave-faced, black-robed Dominican hurries silently by, on his way to a sick-bed; here, a negro slave follows his master's children; there a furtive Jew, in dark gaberdine, edges aside obsequiously, to make way for a pompous alderman, with new peruke and broad sun-umbrella. Down on the Mole, on any fine afternoon in spring, might be seen a group of English ladies, in flowing gowns of French or Italian silk; one or two perhaps with feathered hats and perfumed gloves from Madrid.[1] They would be escorted by officers of the Governor's regiment, their scarlet coats a little threadbare, but adorned with ruffles and ribbons, and lined and faced with green.[2] Though the scene of life at Tangier was monotonous, and the stage and the properties limited, in the characters at least there was plenty of variety.

In a population so varied in nationality and religion, the factions common to most garrison towns were a conspicuous part of daily life. The rivalry between military and civil officials, and the mutual jealousy of English and foreign merchants, have already been noticed. The Portuguese monks, who were so great a cause of offence to certain Members of Parliament, added another element of discord.

[1] John Luke's "Journal," 19th January 1670. "My Lady (Anne Cholmley) gave mee commission to buy her some white gloves to be perfumed in Madrid, they was to bee the thickest kidd, unbusked (?) of a moderate woman's size."

[2] Illustrations to the history of the British Standing Army, 1660-1700, by Colonel Clifford Walton, C.B., at the Royal United Service Institution, Whitehall. The full-dress uniform is also illustrated in Colonel Davis's "History of the 2nd Queen's Regiment," i. 94, 96.

TANGIER FROM THE SOUTH-EAST (FROM A MODERN PHOTOGRAPH).

VIEW CHOSEN TO SHOW PART OF THE ANCIENT WALL STILL EXISTING—*in the Centre.*

[*To face p.* 274.

For some years the monks were tolerated, if not encouraged, by the Governors of Tangier; but gradually, by the help of their influence over the Roman Catholic population, they tried to usurp some of the powers pertaining to the Governor and to exercise authority over the Irish soldiery and their families. A man like Colonel Kirke—a good Governor in many respects, but very violent in temper—would stand no interference with his rule, and quarrels arose on many points between him and "messieurs les chanoïnes de l'Eglise cathédrale de Tanger," who drew up a long list of grievances against him. Among other matters they complained that Kirke had arrested them all on suspicion of having given a certificate of health to a certain vessel, and that he forbade them to celebrate marriages without his permission, and this he refused to grant, thus encouraging immorality.

A Commission appointed to enquire into the matter gave a report altogether unfavourable to the Portuguese. As to bills of health, it was said, they had no business to give them. As to the marriage of soldiers without the Governor's consent, the Commissioners reported that many who were rejected by the Protestant minister "for lawful impediments" then went to the Portuguese Fathers "and the said fathers without any regard or Inquiry have married severall both men and woemen whoe att the same time have had wifes and husbands livinge in other places." The minor grievances were said to date back to Fairborne's time, and to have been raked up out of malice.[1]

In commenting on their complaints, the Governor drew attention to the fact that only two of the six or seven monks who had been at the monastry in 1662 were still living; but though by the treaty with Portugal, no new ones were to be admitted, their numbers seemed daily to multiply, the successors of the old monks being always very young.

The Jews, too, were always a source of perplexity to the English Government. As merchants they brought much wealth to the place; as interpreters and negotiators with the Moors they were almost indispensable, yet they were unpopular with the poorer Europeans, who thought, as John Bland once said, "the Barbary Jews do suck up the blood

[1] Report of the Commissioners (C.O. 279, 31, f. 376, 29th June 1683).

of the shopkeepers." While they lived in the town there was the ever-present fear of treachery. Though they brought with their merchandise news from the Moorish camps, they were suspected of taking out as much information as they brought in. The European Jews met with greater toleration; but even Solomon Pariente "the Rich Jew," a trusted interpreter to four successive Governors of Tangier, was at the last suspected of inserting an unauthorised clause in a treaty, at the request of a Moorish Alcaïd.

The question of expelling the Barbary Jews was discussed on each renewal of war with the Moors, but was not actually decided until 1677, when Fairborne was ordered to banish them all.

After the conclusion of peace in 1680 some Barbary Jews were again admitted to the town. Their presence was agreed to by the "Whitehall Treaty" (1682), but contrary to orders from England, Kirke decided at a Council of War, held on 21st March 1683, that the trading Jews of Barbary must lodge in tents outside the walls and only come in by day; only those of proved fidelity might sleep in the town.

The reputation of the Tangerines for morals and manners was no better than might have been expected of a population which united so many discordant elements, held in restraint only by the careless rule of constantly changing governors and the inefficient authority of a factious civil administration. "In the whole place," wrote Pepys in 1683, "nothing but vice of all sorts, swearing, drinking, cursing, etc.; the women as much as the men." Dr Balam, the Recorder, he added, left his estate to his servant on condition that he did not marry a woman of Tangier, or one who had ever been there. Pepys indeed paints the character of the Tangerines in blackest colours, but it should be remembered that it was his business to disparage the place and everything connected with it. His description of affairs under Kirke's command cannot be considered representative of the whole of the Occupation. There is no doubt that better order was kept by Norwood and Fairborne, and that after 1680 things went from bad to worse. The writer who signed himself G. P., and who is always as much in favour of Tangier as Pepys is the

reverse, says that the townspeople "live neatly and pleasantly and are of a kind and hospitable disposition."

It would seem, however, from the innumerable cases tried in the Courts, that violence and theft were everyday occurrences. Drunkenness was a purely military offence, and nothing thought of unless a man were on duty. Many small taverns and wine-shops were kept by soldiers' widows, and there men and women drank, quarrelled, and fought with equal ardour, and sometimes with impunity, though tavern brawls often ended in broken heads and a subsequent summons for assault and battery. In spite of occasional attempts at reform, the place bade fair to become, as Sir Hugh Cholmley put it, nothing more than "a little camp trading in drink and subject to the usual disorders."

The records of the Court of Quarter Sessions[1] contain charges of murder, felony, burglary, sedition,[2] coin-clipping,[3] selling liquor without a license, keeping false weights and measures, etc. For the five first offences the Court passed sentences of hanging, or whipping through the town. These sentences were, however, very often followed by a reprieve.[4] For the two last offences fines, usually of 3s. 4d., were imposed, the proceeds being allotted either "to the King" or "to the poor."

[1] C.O. 279, 49. Proceedings of the Court of Quarter Sessions.

[2] C.O. 279, 30, f. 312, 27th December 1682. "Warrant by a Court of Oyer and Terminer, ordering 'that one Robert Peck, for discouraging seamen from His Mat^ies service in an open Taverne in Tangier, be whipped from Catherina port to the further end of the Mole, by the Comon Executioner, and sent to England on the *Woollidge*, Capt Riggley, with a certificate of his evil behaviour at Tanger. (Putt in execution. Signed, Nath. Johnson, Wm Cogger.)'"

Ibid., 31, f. 171. "At Private Sessions of the Peace, Thos Hunt, for saying that what was preached in a Sermon by Dr Hughes (on the anniversary of the late King's murder) was a lie, sentenced to thirty-four lashes at the whipping-post, smartly laid on, at the time of relieving Guard. Warrant to Marshall or Keeper of the Gaol, 23rd February 1683."

[3] *Ibid.*, 8, f. 137, 23rd October 1667. "Accusation by Fred^k Bacher, Attorney-Gen^ll against 'Will Teage of Tanger, Yeoman, not having the feare of God before his eyes but being stirred upp by the instigation of the divill and an unlawful desire of gayne at Tanger,' who defaced and cut coins."

Ibid., 30, f. 302, 19th December 1682. "Warrant of execution of Don Miguel Manuel de Tolledos, for clipping coin, by the Court of Oyer and Terminer."

[4] *Ibid.*, 27, f. 191, 16th March 1680/1. Two felons condemned to death for stealing soap, oil, candles, and fish, had their sentence reduced to one of transportation to Virginia, by order of Colonel Sackville.

Imprisonment was too expensive a form of punishment to meet with the approval of the Tangier authorities. The prison calendar for six months contains only eight entries.[1] The Governor of the prison found a difficulty in getting any allowance for the maintenance of the few prisoners committed to his charge, or "for his owne paynes in seeing persons executed." Less costly instruments of justice were found in "a pillory, house of correction, stocks and a duckinge-stool," the last "for the punishment of scoldes and evil tongued woemen."[2]

If the common people were quarrelsome and ungoverned, the officers and merchants were little better. John Luke records innumerable instances of dispute and jealousy often ending in violence.

Duels between officers of the garrison were fairly frequent, though punished with intermittent severity. As a rule, not much notice was taken unless the results were fatal and on one occasion, at least, an officer who had killed his opponent, and was cashiered in consequence, was recalled to his regiment because his services were too valuable to be lost.[3]

Very few of the Tangerines were long out of debt. The arrears of pay told hardly on every one, from the creditors of the Governor and officers who could not pay their tradespeople,[4] to those of the merchant who borrowed money to make "tobacco into sneezing," and was unable to repay the loan until he in turn could get payment for his snuff.

[1] C.O. 279, 29, f. 24, July to January 1681.

[2] *Cf.* Proceedings of Court of Q.S., 28th October 1679. "The Court tried the case of Elizabeth Horrold, accused of 'threatening her husband to be his death and beatinge him by breakinge his head and other harmes,' for which she was 'sentenced to be stripped att the crosse and to receive twentie foure stripes on her naked back by the executioner and to be returned to prison until she give good security for the future.'" (Execution of sentence postponed at her husband's request.)

[3] For the subject of duelling at Tangier *see* Davis's "History of 2nd Queen's Regiment," vol. i., who gives most of the instances recorded in the State Papers.

[4] Kirke asked for an order to oblige all officers, whether English or Scotch, to pay their debts before their departure (C.O. 279, 29, ff. 18, 19, 12th March 1681/2). Kirke himself owed £1,500 to the townspeople, who, says Pepys, "can get no money from him, but curses and 'why do you trust me?' Nor dare they complain" (Smith, "Life," etc., of Pepys, i. 431).

Fairborne, when Governor, tried to obtain special consideration in the Courts for poor soldiers sued for debts, the costs being often more than they were able to pay. On one occasion a soldier owing 40s. was charged 44s. more for costs. On another occasion the Court charges amounted to £3, 3s. 6d.

The arrears of pay, which gave an excuse for debt, were also the cause of a great deal of theft. Soldiers had even their bedding and uniforms stolen from them,[1] and, for their own part, sometimes tried to supplement their pay and rations by their own exertions in other people's poultry yards.

In the numerous cases of theft tried by the Court, severer sentences were, as a rule, passed on soldiers than on civilians; but the Governor was usually willing to counteract this tendency of the Justices, by exerting his privilege of reprieve on behalf of a soldier. An example of this tendency occurred in November 1681, when four soldiers, one of whom held the post of common executioner, were sentenced to be hanged for burglary. This was extremely awkward, because, as the Governor explained, the man would have to officiate "as well on this occasion as on all occasions hereafter"; so the difficulty was solved by the grant of a pardon to all four delinquents.[2]

Life at Tangier could be pleasant enough for a time, especially in spring, when blue sky and sunshine and a wealth of sweet-scented flowers lent an air of brightness and well-being to the little town, and the constant coming of ships and visitors brought the interests of the outer world to its gates. There was no necessary hardship in a few months' sojourn in the new colony, but those who were obliged, by duty or poverty, to stay on year after year, through good and bad seasons, peace and war, times of good health and illness, found the isolation of their position very hard to bear.

[1] C.O. 279, 10, f. 157, 16th June 1668. The King's Attorney accuses "Antonio Rodrigo, of the Portugale Church" of stealing from the soldiers' quarters "a pillow and boulster and John Mill's red coate," when the latter was drinking at night in Rodrigo's lodging.

[2] Warrant of reprieve from Colonel Kirke, 8th November 1681 (C.O. 279, 28, f. 303).

Many of the younger soldiers who had come out in the hope of a rapid conquest of the country must have shared the impatience expressed by Captain Mordaunt of the Tangier Horse, who begged for his recall, saying:—

"This place . . . is good for an old man that is and loves to be confin'd and hath the gout and Ach in his Boanes, the sun will sweate it out, or a yong man that never was abroad nor never saw any of experance (in) his life, he may continue 3 mounth perhaps, but I must goe where other experence may be learn'd yf I may."[1]

Even during the exciting period of Teviot's command, the Governor had time to feel himself cut off from all the world; he wrote with real gratitude to Consul Westcombe at Cadiz to thank him for sending "newsbookes," saying: "it is an act of Charity soe to doe with us who see nothing but Moores and the four ellements and are deprived of all civill and State conversation."[2]

Never for a moment could the people of Tangier forget that they were in an enemy's country. The narrow limits of their lands pressed hard upon them; on one hand were the pirate-ridden seas, on the other a stretch of sandhills which might at any time hide a Moorish ambush. No boat dared venture unguarded beyond cover of the guns on the Mole; no one might wander a step beyond the lines without danger of capture. An inviting wood near the town,

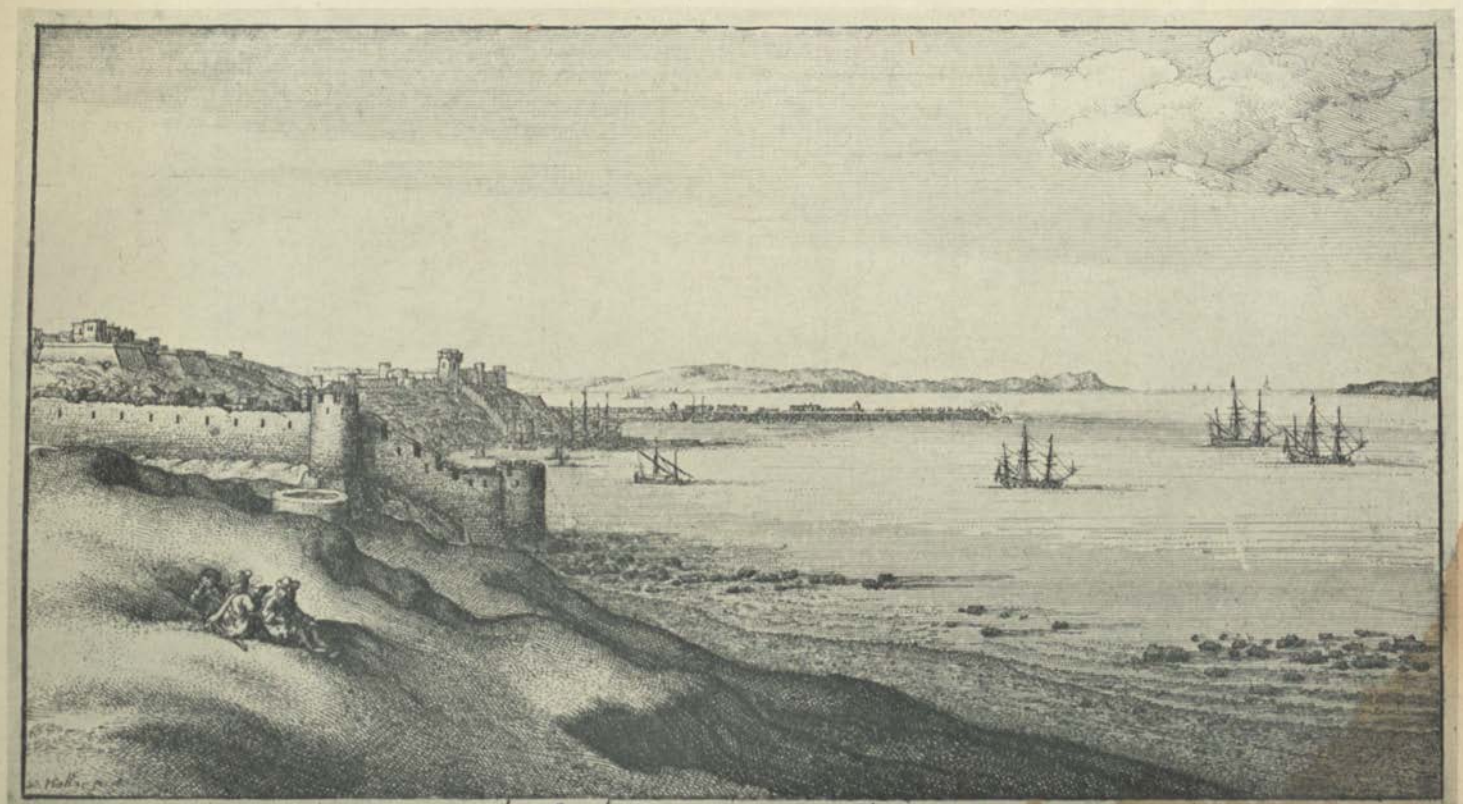
"green all the year . . . a ravishing Wilderness of Oranges Lemons, Figgs, Scarlet Oak, and Cork Trees, and instead of Bryars and Thorns thickned with Damask Roses, Groves of Myrtle, Jasemine and Bushes of Rosemary,"

which might have seemed an ideal retreat for a summer's afternoon—was haunted by the memory of Teviot's ill-fated force, whose unburied bones were seen in its green glades ten years after the disaster of 1664, a grim reminder of an unseen foe.

Even the gardens and pastures between Charles and

[1] C.O. 279, 3, f. 214, 10th August 1664.

[2] C.O. 279, 3, f. 42, 15/25th April 1664. *Cf.* Heathcote MSS., p. 148, Hist. MSS., Commission Report.



THE SOUTH-EAST CORNER OF TANGIER.
BY WENCESLAUS HOLLAR.

[*To face p.* 280.

Whitby Forts and the town were sometimes unsafe, and a field of wild oats between Monmouth and James Forts afforded good cover for Moorish snipers. Officers and men rode or walked about the lines with light-hearted indifference to possible risk, and very often, in spite of the vigilance of the guards, "the Mores lay themselves in ambush in the long grass so nere the palisado that they have shott severall before they have bin aware of any danger."[1]

For many tedious years Tangier was little better than a besieged city. Those who had friends and relatives in the outer forts must have spent many an anxious day and wakeful night when they listened to the sound of firing that told of a Moorish attack, yet with almost unfailing courage people put anxiety in the background and cheerfully made the most of the diversions that opportunity afforded.

In time of peace there was a certain amount of sport to be had; game was plentiful, but hunting was limited by treaty; no more than twelve Englishmen might hunt or shoot at a time, and the officer who in a moment of excitement passed the boundary, was liable to be taken prisoner and made a slave for life.

Lancelot Addison, chaplain at Tangier, wrote in 1663: "Wild boars are no rarity in this diocese, which the Moores hunt and kill in a manly pastime."[2]

"G. P." mentions "plover, curlew and bustard . . . the partridge though much larger, doth not please me so well as those of England and Ireland; but here are a sort of Birds about the bigness of a Pheasant, the Spaniards call them Pesones de Campo, which I must commend above all the Fowl that ever I tasted."

When Kirke went to Mequinez in 1681, special privileges were granted to him and his companions; he wrote to Colonel Sackville, saying that they were "enjoying plenty of sport—all kinds of hunting and shooting—the game including wild boar, hares, partridges and antelopes."[3]

Hawking is mentioned only once, when Colonel Fitzgerald,

[1] Rawl. MSS., C. 353, f. 14 (Bodleian Library).
[2] Addison, "Account of West Barbary" (Pinkerton's "Voyages," xv. 407).
[3] Kirke to Sackville, 10th January 1680/1, 27, f. 19.

after an interview with Ghaïlán, in 1663, rode a-hawking with the Moorish chief for the space of an hour.

Fishing from boats outside the bay or up the Jews' River was not always without danger from a sudden piratical raid, but from the Mole it was always safe, and, according to "G. P.,"

"no place under Heaven perhaps, is better furnished with excellent kinds of Fish, and great plenty; here are (beside Soles, Gurnets, Mullets, Turbets, Lobsters, Eels, Shrimps etc.: in common with England) Cod-fish, Bonitos, Old-women, Porgo's Salmonettos', Rock-fish, Star-fish, and many other, for which they have no name."

Now and then business or curiosity would bring over some great personage with money in his pocket and a few court gallants in his train, and at these times Tangerine society threw itself into the enjoyment of dances and entertainments with such whole-hearted frivolity that, according to Mr Bland, the saying was current among the Moors, "If you give the officers a ball and the common soldiers a bottle of wine, you may do what you will with an Englishman."

In November 1671 an impetus was given to social doings by the arrival of the *Dreadnought*, commanded by Sir John Chitsley, with "Lady Middleton and several gentlemen of quality that came from Court, Mr Savage, Austin, Nicholas and Lord Cleremont." Sir Hugh and Lady Anne Cholmley, always hospitable, "entertained My Lord and Lady Middleton and all the company at dinner and with dancing and at supper," and entertainments were given by the Middletons at the Castle and by Sir John Chitsley on board his ship.[1]

Sir John Narborough, Admiral of the Mediterranean Fleet, wrote in February 1673. "To-day all the Sea Comanders dined at the Earle of Midletons, and were entertained in the evening with a ball, and all the ladis in the city and persons of quality."[2]

[1] Cholmley, "An Account of Tangier," p. 220.

[2] A Journal kept by John Narborough, Commander of H.M.S. *Farfax*, Pepys's MSS. (Cambridge), 2556.

Tangier was at its gayest, at least in appearance, when Lord Henry Howard came on his luckless embassy in 1669. Finding the time of waiting very tedious, "My Lord Ambassador," helped perhaps by Lord Castlemaine, who came with him and stayed a short time—

"streyned his fancy to find, variety of divertisements"—so Colonel Norwood wrote to Sir Joseph Williamson—"it would chalenge the notices in the *Gazette* . . . you get from France. Twice a weeke his Excellency has joyned men of his trayne to the woemen of this place to compose the rarest balls that have beene knowne in Barbary. At Back-sword, wrestling and bull-bayting we toyle as if the banke side of Thames were transplanted to Tangier." But, adds Norwood, "the soldiers are in ill-humour for lack of clothes, albeit the jocundry of balls and cudgells."[1]

Except at times like this there was little variety of recreation to be had by the private soldiers, who spent much of their spare time by the sea-shore, sitting at their ease on a gently-shelving sand-bank, playing at cards or dice, or smoking their long pipes—when they could get tobacco—as they idly watched the ships go in and out of the harbour.[2]

Festivals and Saints days were regularly observed at Tangier; the King's birthday was honoured by a salute from all the guns in the place and all the ships in the bay, bonfires were made on the Mole and in the town, and the occasion gave an excuse for general merry-making. Easter Monday, too, was always a holiday; Sir Hugh Cholmley records that on 24th April 1671 a bowling match was played, at which

[1] Norwood to Williamson (C.O. 279, 12, f. 73, 4/14th October 1669).

[2] *Cf.* the drawings of Wenceslaus Hollar, "the King's Scenographer," who visited Tangier at the time of Howard's Embassy (Cal. S.P. Dom., 1669, p. 256). Hollar, the well-known engraver, was born at Prague in 1607. He was taken prisoner at Basinghouse in 1645; he went to Antwerp, but afterwards returned to England. Notwithstanding the most indefatigable exertions, he lived in great poverty. He died in 1677. During his last illness the bailiffs entered his room to seize his only remaining piece of furniture—the bed on which he lay. He entreated their forbearance for only a short time, as he should then have no further need of it, and earnestly requested that he might not be removed to any other prison than his grave.

Hollar's water-colour drawings and etchings of Tangier, formerly in the Royal Library at Windsor, are now in the Print Room at the British Museum.

the married officers of the Mole beat the bachelors, and "my Lord (Middleton) and all of us dined at Whitehall in an arbour."

"Whitehall," was a "House of Pleasure" within the lines, and a rival of Charles Fort as a fashionable afternoon resort; it was described as "a place where the Ladies, the Officers and the better sort of people do refresh and divert themselves with Wine, Fruits and a very pretty Bowling-Base."[1] Christmas was a time for general holiday-making, a cargo of "hoggs and cows from Spain" provided a substantial addition to Christmas cheer; on 26th December the Mole workmen and their wives were entertained at Whitby by Sir Hugh Cholmley, who allowed to each of his guests 1½lbs. of meat and a quart of wine; on the 27th Cholmley observed "the workmen had not recovered the jollity of the preceding day so that little was done."

In 1670, the Christmas festivities were concluded on 26th December by a play, "where," says John Luke, "the Actors did theire part well enough and caused much laughter, the house very full."[2]

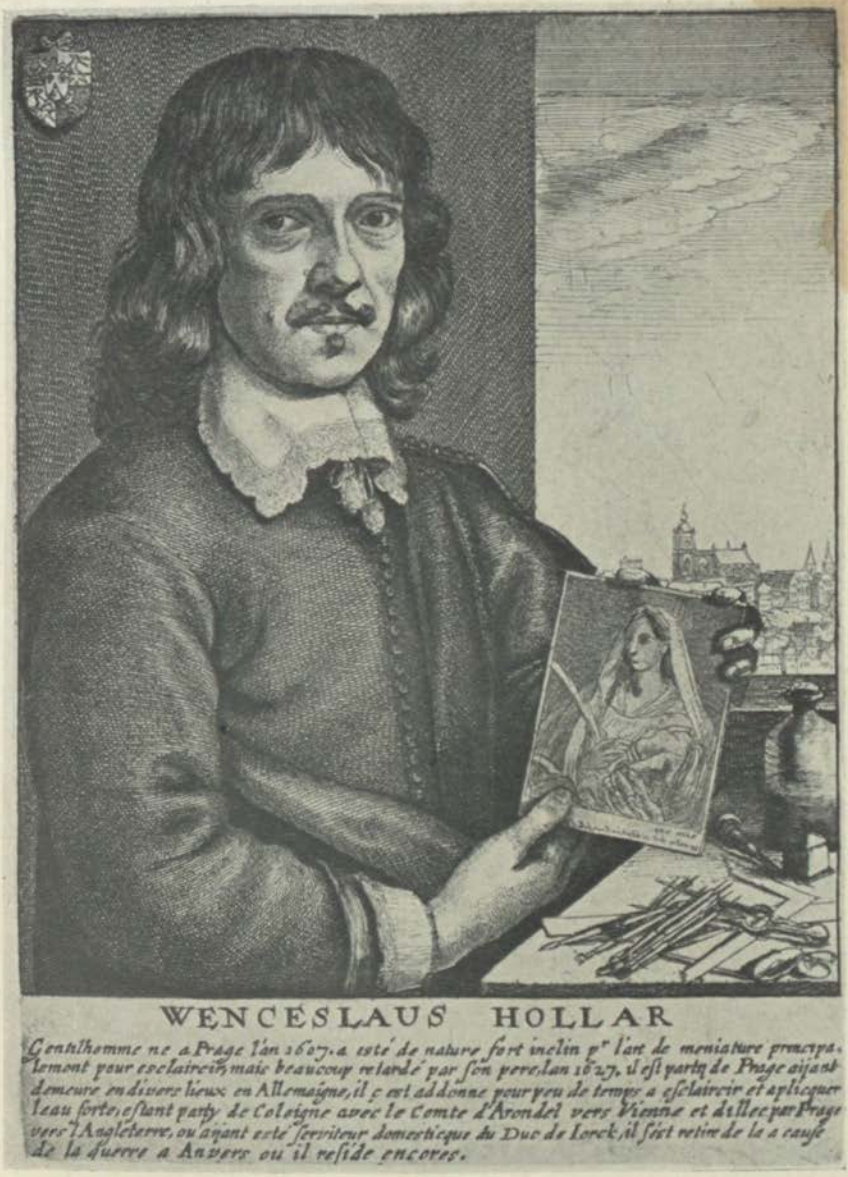
"The play," which began between five and six o'clock and went on till nearly eight, was a popular pastime for winter afternoons. Sometimes the Mole, or a temporary building on it, served as a theatre, but in Lord Inchiquin's time a military storehouse at York Castle was converted into a play-house, to the detriment of the fire-arms which appear to have been turned out of it, and crowded in with the general stores to make room for the stage.[3] The soldiers of the garrison, in spite of their hard duty, formed a dramatic company, and were always ready to get up a play when the Moors allowed them leisure. John Luke records the performance at different times of "The Indian Emperor," "the Earl of Essex," and "the Olde Brother," "where most of them acted well, and Gregory extraordinary well."

In the winter of 1670 1 a travelling company of Spanish players came to Tangier and gave great pleasure by their

[1] The British Legation now stands on the site of Whitehall (Budgett Meakin, "Land of the Moors," p. 131).

[2] John Luke's "Journal," 26th December 1670.

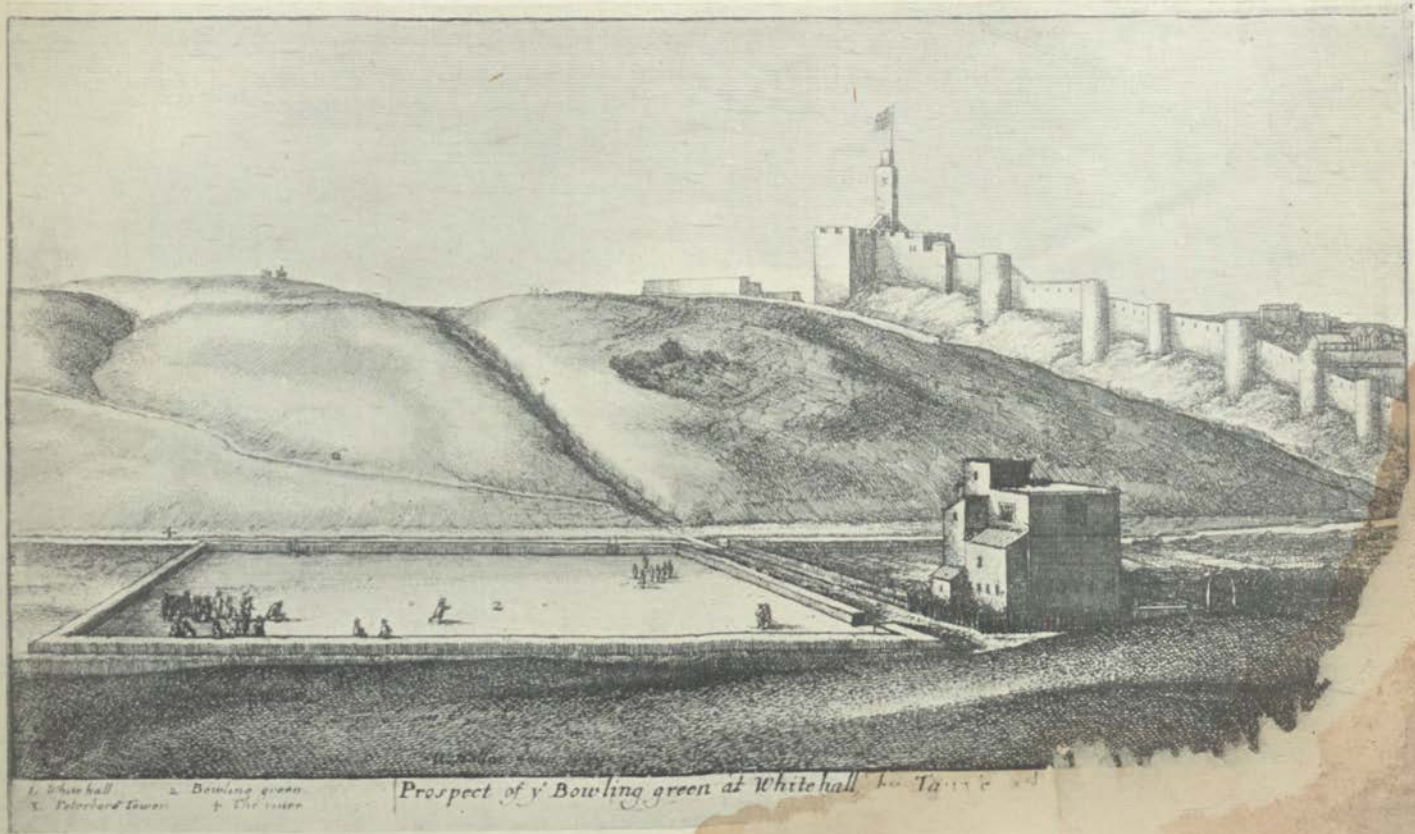
[3] "Booke of Tanger," W. O. Ord. Misc., 1082, ff. 148, 248 (P.R.O.)


WENCESLAUS HOLLAR
Gentilhomme ne a Prage l'an 1607. a esté de nature fort inclin p.r l'art de meniature principalement pour esclaircir, mais beaucoup retardé par son pere, lan 1627. il est party de Prage aiant demeure en divers lieux en Allemaigne, il s'est addonné pour jeu de temps a esclaircir et aplicquer l'eau forte, estant party de Coleigne avec le Comte d'Arondel vers Vienne et d'illec par Prage vers l'Angleterre, ou aiant esté Serviteur domestic.que du Duc de Iorck, il sest retiré de la a cause de la guerre a Anvers ou il reside encores.

WENCESLAUS HOLLAR,

ENGRAVER AND "SCENOGRAPHER," 1607-1677.

[*To face p.* 284.



1. Whitehall.
2. Bowling green.
3. Peterboro Tower.

THE BOWLING GP

excellent acting. During their visit Lord Middleton entertained at the play the crew of a Spanish boat from Tarifa, who had co-operated with Captain Bolland in the capture of a pirate brigantine. Mr Luke thought the Spanish actresses "exceedingly ugly," but there appears to have been one exception at least, for about this time Mr Morgan Read, sometime Alderman, was found entertaining at his house "Leonora, the pretty wench who acts one of the best."

Mr John Luke, secretary to Lord Middleton, has given in his "Diary" a fairly complete record of his everyday life between 1670 and 1672.[1]

The day's work began rather early; morning parade was at seven or eight o'clock, and at about this time, Luke generally went up to the Castle to "wait upon his Excellency." The morning was devoted to business; dinner was at twelve, and supper about eight. In the afternoon at four or five o'clock, the "ladies and officers and better sort of people" rode or walked in the fields, or along the sands to old Tangier. Some visited Charles Fort or Whitehall, others sauntered up and down the Mole to watch the passing ships, and would sometimes chance to see a distant fight between an English or Spanish ship and a Salli-man or Algerine. Sir Hugh Cholmley and Lady Anne with their "little girl Moll" liked to be rowed about the bay in their barge, to look at the progress of the Mole. Mr Luke himself usually rode out in the afternoon, sometimes in company with the Minister, Mr Turner, who one day "roade Captain Gyles' horse most furiously till he runne away with him and gave him a noteable fall in the laine going to James Fort." Major (afterwards Sir Palmes) and Mrs Fairborne might often be

[1] Brit. Mus., Add. MSS., 36528. "Original Holograph MSS. Journal kept by John Luke Esq., from 9 December 1670, to 20 April 1671; 22 to 25 June 1671, and 19 December 1671 to 28 February 1672/3. John Luke was son and heir of Sir Samuel Luke (the original of Butler's Hudibras) of Woodend in Cople, Co. Bedford, knight and M.P. (died 1670), and his wife Elizabeth, daughter of William Freeman, of London, merchant. John Luke was baptized at Hawnes, Co. Bedford, September 1632. Matriculated at Oxford from Christchurch, 26 November 1650. B.A. 28 February 1651/2. M.A. 21 June 1654. Incorporated at Cambridge 1658. He was appointed Judge Advocate (or Advocate-General) at Tangier, and served under successive governors from 1662."

(The above details are taken from a MS. note prefixed to the Journal. Nathaniel Luke, brother of John Luke, was killed at Tangier, in 1664.

met riding about the lines; once, as they passed James Fort, they heard the sound of firing, and were told by the officer on guard, that a soldier had run away to the Moors, and was already out of sight. The Major, leaving his wife at the Fort, at once galloped off after the deserter, and, in spite of great danger from the enemy, succeeded in bringing the man back, and then continued his ride.[1]

Now and then a review of the troops provided an afternoon's entertainment. On 18th May 1669, Lord Henry Howard was honoured by a "muster and view of the regiment," and at a "muster in the Fields" held in March 1671, "the Regiment made a very handsome appearance . . . at least 190 files. My Lady Middleton walked out to sec them, stayed at Charles Fort till all was don, then went doune to Whitby where Mr Sheers treated her."[2]

Occasionally a wedding took place of sufficient importance to attract the presence of the "persons of quality" of Tangier. Captain Bolland, a naval officer and official of the Mole, wrote in 1678:—

"Consul Earlesman, late Consul of Tunis, was married to a young Gentlewoman which came to the place under my care to seeke a fortune, and she hath met with one, it is valueable 50,000 pieces of eight, soe wee have a substantiall man sattled in the place."[3]

In 1671 Mr Luke records that on 29th January, "Early in the morning Lord Middleton and Lord Clermont[4] accompanyed Captain Gyles to Church where they see him marryed to Mistress Morris." During the wedding reception, Mr Luke thought that the company looked "something strangely" at him—perhaps because, though he was the son of a knight, his position as Secretary did not entitle him to the *entrée* of society—so did not stay long; but before he left, he says:—

"I had most pleasant divertisement with Miss Cholmely, shee tooke mee into the little roome where the couch is, there

[1] Fairborne to Williamson, 28th December 1668 (C.O. 279, 10, ff. 22-23); Davis, *op. cit.*, p. 96.

[2] Cholmley, *op. cit.*, p. 129, and Luke's "Journal," 6th March 1671.

[3] Bolland to Williamson, 12th April 1678 C.O. 279, 22, f. 147).

[4] Son of Middleton by his first wife.

layed herself doune and entertayned mee with all the little trickes of a lady when shee would bee pityed by her beaux."

The precocious "Miss Cholmley" was three and a quarter years old at this time. The previous year she had travelled by coach with her parents all the way through France and Spain, a journey of six months to Tangier.[1]

Gossip and scandal throve apace in the narrow circle of Tangerine society; social jealousy was acute. It can be gathered from John Luke's "Journal" that almost every look and word was noticed and commented upon. He himself took a deep interest in the affairs and intrigues of his neighbours; even the Governor and the chief officers of the staff did not despise the diversion of an hour's gossip.

On an evening in January 1671, Luke wrote in his "Journal":—

"Major White and Fitzgerald being with his Excellency, Captain Gyles and I went in; stayd neere an hower, Major Fitzgerald recounted to his Excellency the carriage of all the ladyes last night at his house, a pleasant discourse wee had concerning Mistress Legg."

The evenings were passed with cards, music, or conversation. Lady Middleton, once, at least, was "fixed at play" until late at night. Music very often helped to beguile the time, and sometimes sailor-musicians were called upon to provide an evening's entertainment. On 20th December 1670, Captain Gyles (of the Governor's regiment)

"came very merry from on board *Captain Berry* and brought with him two fidlers with theire violins, and next day his Excellency called for the violins and diverted himself with them an hour or two."[2]

When Pepys came over in 1683 he was entertained "with harp, guitar and dance, with Mr Sheres in his garden, with mighty pleasure."

Hospitality to neighbours and strangers was widely practised. Mr Luke dined out nearly every day; on

[1] Cholmley, "An Account of Tangier," p. 125. "Diary," 18th April 1670. The journey, including preparations, etc., cost £1,500.

[2] Luke's "Journal."

Sundays he was usually invited to a small dinner-party, given after morning service by Sir Hugh and Lady Anne Cholmley, who lived near the church, to the Governor, the minister, and a few others. Lady Anne's parties were deservedly popular, she was "exceedingly good company," and kept an excellent table. On 11th December 1670, Luke wrote:—

"Wee had an extraordinary good dinner, some wild bore baked in a pott the best of any I ever saw, good clarett, Houamore (?)[1] Rhenish and a sort of mighty strong beere called blew John."

On 13th December Luke went to "supper at Major Fairborne's" and had "2 ducks at my charge and 1 turkey at M[r] Staine's, lost at play." On the 14th he "supped at M[rs] Elliot's with Maj. Fairborne and his lady invited by Cap[t] Lesley." The following day "being the Papists Xmas day, Major White had a greate dinner but his Excellency being to prepare for tomorroe which is his wedding-day, dined not at all." His Excellency's prudent preparation, however, did not outlast the day, for he "went to Sir H. Cholmley's at night, stayed there till half-past nine, being treated with extraordinary good Anchovyes, potted wild boare, picked oysters and admirable clarett." December 16th, "being his Excellency's wedding-day, he made a dinner, invited Sir Hugh and his lady with severall of the officers wives, in soe much that two tables were more than filled and 12 of us sat in the other roome. After dinner the Spanish Comœdians acted a Comœdy which they performed very well, the best woman actor and one other exceedingly ugly, two of them indifferent. Sir Hugh and my Lady seemed very much pleased and did not part till seaven."

In spite of general poverty the Tangerines could usually contrive to put a good dinner before their friends. Prices were at times very high, but so long as friendly intercourse with the Moors and Spaniards could be maintained, there were

"all manner of fresh provisions . . . as good as in England and as plentiful and cheap as in Ireland: the Beef

[1] This word is indistinctly written in the original MS.

and Mutton is not so generally fat, but as sweet and juicy as in any other place: Hens, Chickens, Capons, Geese, and Turkies are extreamly plentiful and very good, the Pigeons very large and very fat, but the Ducks are certainly the best in the World; for being kept from puddles and dirty feeding, and fatned with Oatmeal and Pease, the Flesh of them is quite changed in colour and taste."[1]

French and Spanish wines were imported in large quantities, and fruit was grown in most of the gardens.

Chocolate for drinking was a special dainty at Tangier. Lady Anne Cholmley used to make it to send home to her friends, with directions to "mix it only with fair water and a little sugar if it is not sweet enough." When Mr Shere arrived from Spain one morning he was entertained by Alderman Gascoigne with "chocolatte, bread and butter and cold spareribb."

A notable tribute to the hospitality shown to strangers was paid by Henry Teonge, Chaplain to H.M. frigate *Assistance*, who, with the ship's doctor, was "nobly entertayned," by Captain Charles Daniell of the Governors' regiment, at Charles Fort,

"where first of all," wrote the chaplain, "he gave us a crust of excellent bread, and 2 bottles of claret, then tooke us into his gardens. . . . Here wee drank severall bottells of wine. After this he took us into his sellar, where he feasted us with rost beife cold, Westfalia polony pudding, parmezant: gave us cucumbers, musk mellons, salletts, and a reive of Spanish onions as thick as my thigh; stowed us with good wine; and then, loath to let us goe, he sent one of his corporalls with us to see us safe to our pinnace." One would think this last thoughtful attention not the least useful. "Such a harty entertaynment I never saw before from a meare stranger," concludes the Chaplain appreciatively; "nor never shall againe till I returne to the prince-like Capt Daniell."[2]

The voyage to Tangier from England occupied ordinarily three or four weeks; a fortnight was considered very good sailing. The fastest passage on record is that of a flyboat

[1] "G. P.," "The Present State of Tangier."

[2] "Diary" of Henry Teonge, chaplain on board His Majesty's ships *Assistance*, *Bristol*, and *Royal Oak*, 1675-1679 (published in 1825), pp. 32-33.

which arrived in eleven days from Falmouth; but very often, owing to storms and contrary winds, ships were five or six weeks, or even longer, on the way. Given good weather the voyage was short and easy enough to be regarded as a pleasure cruise. The Governors and those officers who could afford it made a practice of returning home for the summer, and many of the Tangerines began their acquaintance and social life on board ship.

Pepys, sailing in 1683 looked forward to the

"pleasure of concerts (much above the ordinary) of voices, flutes, and violins . . . good humour, good cheer, some good books, the company of my nearest friend, Mr Hewer, and a reasonable prospect of being home again in less than 2 months."[1]

During the voyage Admiral Sir John Berry and a "reformado Captain" of the fleet played the violin in the evening after dinner, and the sailors "danced to harp and song" to the entertainment of the passengers.[2]

The Reverend Henry Teonge, naval chaplain from 1675-1679, gives in his often quoted "Diary" an account of his voyage to Tangier in 1675 in H.M. frigate *Assistance*,[3] which is perhaps entertaining enough to warrant one more repetition.

From 1st to 20th June the ship loitered round the coast, the captain's time being occupied in pressing men and entertaining ladies.

[1] Pepys to Evelyn, 7th August 1683 (Smith, i. 326).

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 343, 27th August 1683; and 346, 3rd September; and 347, 7th September. Cf. *The Streights Voyage, or St David's Poem*, by John Balthorpe (1669-1671).

"Our Fidlar did in triumph fetch
His fiddle from on board a ketch,
Called the Portsmouth, and did play
Oft times to pass the time away;
Sometimes to passe sad cares away,
On Forecastle we dance the Hay,
Sometimes dance Nothing, only hop about,
It for good dancing passes mongst the rout.
Yet on my word I have seen sailors
More nimbler dance than any taylors."

[3] Fourth rate, fifty-six guns, two hundred men. Laird Clowes, ii 220. Will. Houlding, captain.

"On the 3rd," relates the chaplain, "wee hoyst sayle; and . . . com to the Boy in the Nore, hither many of our seamen's wives follow their husbands, and severall other young women accompany their sweetharts, and sing *Loath to Depart* in punch and brandy; so that our ship was that night well furnished but ill man'd; few of them being well able to keep watch, had there been occasion."

On the 16th he writes, "The Capt. and his lady, the lieuetenant and his wife and my selfe went on shoare to Deale. Towards evening wee were all carried from shoare to our pinnace at least 100 paces; the water being up to the middles of the seamen; the women for fear of falling, and especially the lieuetenant's wife, huggling the watermen about the necks till they had almost choaked them, which caused much laughter, though our feet and garments wept."

On the 19th the captain received his sailing orders "to go to Trypoly and also to convoy the Syppio fraught with 2700 dollars to Scanderroonde . . . if we loose company betweene Plimworth and Tangeare the rendisvouse is Tangeare."

On the 20th, "being sayling out of the Downes about 4 of the Clock, accompanyed with the Sypio, the Smyrna merchant; and the Mary, a Maligo man; wee are bade good speede with guns from every ship there: whilst wee thank each ship in the same language. About 10 at night (having beene hindred by pressing som men as wee went alonge) wee com to an anchor in Dover roade."

On the 21st. "By 6 in the morning all our ladys are sent on shoare in our pinnace; whose weeping eyes bedewed the very sids of the ship, as they went over into the boate, and seemed to have chosen (might they have had their will) rather to have stuck to the syds of the ship like the barnacles or shell-fish, than to have parted from us. But they were no sooner out of sight but they were more merry; and I could tell with whom too, were I so minded. Theire departure honoured with 3 cheares, 7 gunns and trumpetts sounding."

On the 30th the ship "bad adue to Old England (at the Lizard)" and began the voyage in earnest, "no life at the shoare being comparable to this at sea, where wee have

good meate and good drinke provided for us, and good company and good divertisements, without the least care, sorrow or trouble; which will be continued if wee forget not our duety; viz., loyalty and thankfulnes."

On 3rd July the *Assistance* was almost becalmed in the Bay of Biscay, but on the 4th the chaplain writes:—

"Though wee have no wind our ship doth rowle so much, that wee can scarce stand, or goe on the decks. The dishes run off the table at dinner, the chayres tumble ore and ore, and the bottles of wine stand not without holdeing. . . . 8th. Now wee are calmed, and begin to looke for som of the Sally men, if they dare be so bould to com in our way. Our gunns are made ready, and som musketts brought on the quarter-deck: but non coms. 10th. Wee are past the Rock of Lysbon, but could not discover it by reason of the fogg."

July 14th. "Very calme and hott, the wind not stirring till eleven of the clock, yet at 4 in the afternoone wee discover land, viz. the coasts of Barbary, lying very high. Now wee rejoyce; haveing not seene any land since wee bad adue to fayre England. And now also wee see the Spanish coasts on the left hand, and in way of rejoycing wee have severall boules of punch drank round about the ship."

Here the jovial chaplain is inspired to break into song:

"No sooner from our top-mast head wee see
The Turkish hills, the coasts of Barbary,
But Spaine salutes us and her shoares discloses
And lofty hills against the Turks opposes.
Wee sayle twixt boath, playing at handy dandy
With noble bowles of punch and quarts of brandy."

July 15th. "By 9 this morne wee com to an anchor in Tangeare Bay."

It may be surmised that the voyage out could be a cheerful affair, especially if the Rev. Henry Teonge chanced to be on board.

Newcomers arriving in fine weather usually gained a favourable impression of Tangier; the most detailed account of the place is that given by "G. P.," who published a

laudatory pamphlet called "The Present Interest of Tangier." The writer describes his arrival in the Straits early on a fine morning of 1676; here he says:—

"A most odoriferous smell, like to the Fume of Cedar or Juniper entertained us, which I conceive to be a mixture of pleasant sents ariseing from the variety of sweet Trees and Herbs growing there wild: the coast rocky, rugged and full of Hills, yet very safe for Ships, very green with Grass and Herbs and full of Trees. . . .

"It is certainly a very sweet and well chosen place," he continues, "at the foot of a very great Hill on which the Castle standeth . . . fenced with a high thin old-fashioned wall (much like to that of Drogheda in Ireland)."

Most of the buildings were in the Spanish style, the better sort built of stone, with tiled roofs; the streets were narrow and crooked;

"houses are low and generally little, with Spanish roofs almost flat, the Walls generally of Stone and Mudd, the covering crooked Tiles, the In-side and Cielings of Slit Deal or Pine. There are many of the Officers and principal Townsmen who have fine large commodious and well-furnished Houses and Gardens; and indeed the Houses are for the most part very pretty and convenient, hardly any without a little Garden, but extreamly beautiful and delighting, full of sweet Herbs and pleasant Trees, especially Vines, which running up upon Pillars made of Stone, and Espaliers made of great Reeds, all their Walks and Back-sides and Spare-places, are covered and shaded with Vines, mightly loaden with excellent Grapes, of divers sorts sizes and shapes and some very early ripe."

When Lord Belasyse first arrived in April 1665, he was charmed with the appearance of the place, and delighted to find "all the orrange trees tipped with flowers, which I left in England so with snow and ice."

The Rev. Henry Teonge, however, gives a more critical description of the town:—

"The houses are only 2 storys high, flatt rooft and covered with hollow tyles, layd for the most part without morter;

windows, but no glasse in them. The streets very narrow, and full of angles and very roughly paved; in a word, no comlines at all in the whole place. The walls are very high, and olde, and much decayed in many places, but full of good gunns; and compaseth the towne like a halfe-moone with a very deepe trench about it cut in the rock. On the land syd of it there is a pitifull palazado, not so good as an olde parke pale (for you may anywhere almost thrust it downe with your foote), and on the out syd a ditch, which seems to have been cast up 1000 years since; for 'tis all most filled up. In which palizad stand about 12 forts, within reach of on another, well furnished with good gunns."[1]

When Samuel Pepys came to Tangier in 1683 he had hardly a good word to say for it, and found little worthy of his observation except "outside the Church, lizards sticking in the windows, to bask in the sun," and "a great locust" which appeared on the dinner-table. He rode with Kirke and Lord Dartmouth "to see the town without, and did it with no pleasure, but great danger." The only two things which made a real impression on his mind were Lady Mary Kirke and a large spider.

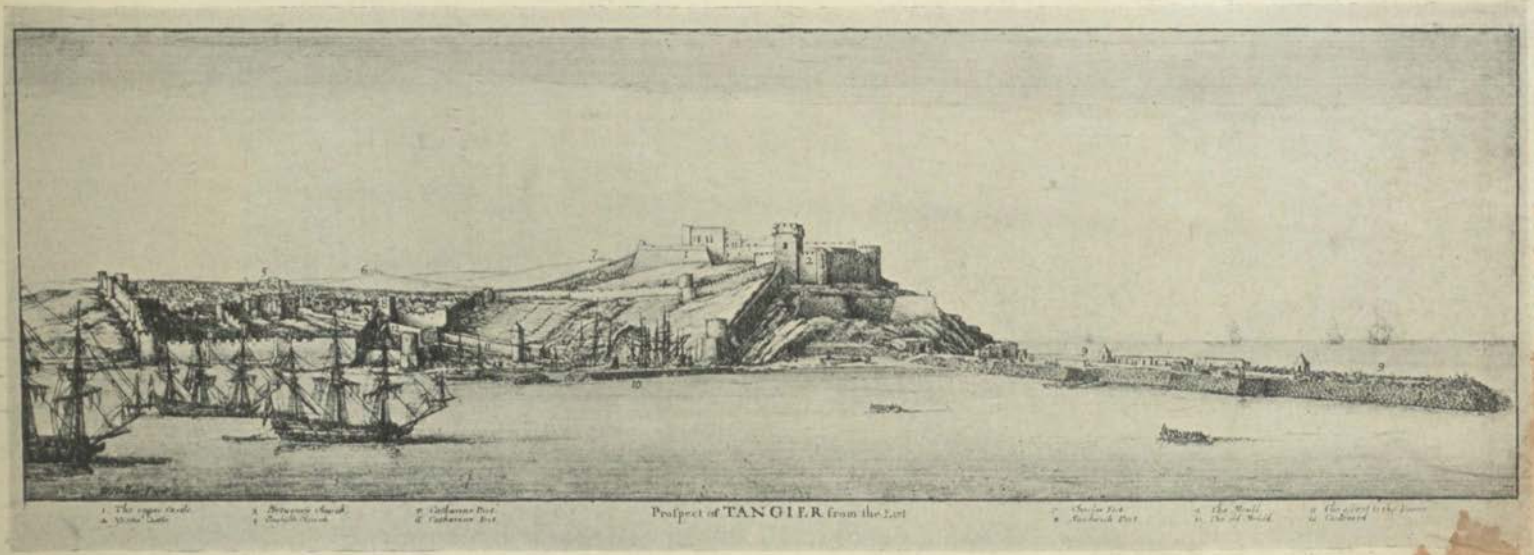
"This morning, in my chamber," he writes, "was the most extraordinary spider I ever saw, at least ten times as big as an ordinary spider. With such things this country mightily abounds. But, above all that was most remarkable here, I met the Governor's lady in the pew, a lady I have long remarked for her beauty, but she is mightily altered."[2]

[1] Teonge, *op cit.*, 31-32. Cf. *The Streights Voyage*, Balthorpe.

"August the tenth we Sail'd away *
And Anchor'd at Tangier next day
A place the English now possess
On the Barbarian Shoar it is
'Tis fortyfied very strong
Or else we should not keep it long.
There doth also a Mold here stand
Where Ships may ride within command.
'Tis Fortyfied two miles long,
With Towers also exceeding strong,
In each of which good Guns doth stand
To drive away the Moores by land;
Of which sometimes there doth appear
More than one hundred thousand in one year."

[2] Smith, *op. cit.*, i. 363, 23rd September 1683.

* From the Bay of Bulls.



1. The Upper Castle.
2. Yorke Castle.
3. Portuguese Church.
4. English Church.
5. Catherine Port.
6. Catherine Fort

TANGIER FROM THE EAST.

By Wenceslaus Hollar.

7. Charles Fort.
8. Sandwich Port.
9. The Mould.
10. The Old Mould.
11. The Ascent to the Towne.
12. Coole-yard (Coal-yard).

The most striking feature of the place—Pepys's opinion notwithstanding — was undoubtedly the broad stone pier, known to fame as "the Mole" or "Mold," which is described in a subsequent chapter. Near the water-side, on rising ground at the head of the Mole, stood a fortified building called "York Castle," in honour of the Duke, which was used as a magazine. Close to its landward gate was a spacious parade-ground, where two thousand foot might draw up in open order.[1]

There were several churches and chapels in the town in the days of the Portuguese, but only two were maintained during the English Occupation. One of these, "a fine church, delicately beautified all round it with neat and costly Altars," stood in the convent garden and still belonged to the Portuguese, the other, "a pretty plain Chappel, formerly dedicated to St Jago and now to Charles the Martyr, is the Protestant Church and very well filled on Sundays."[2]

At the entrance to the English Church was a trace of old Moorish architecture, a remarkable ruin "with delicate mosaic work, the floors of small Roman bricks 2 or 3 inches square, of divers colours" ("G. P.")

At the top of the hill which rose steeply behind the parade-ground stood the Upper Castle "situated securely and delightfully" 200 feet above sea-level, covering a considerable space. The Castle was strongly fortified and had four massive bastions of old Portuguese workmanship. Within its outer walls were storehouses and gardens; towards the south-east was the Governor's house, which Lord Middleton

[1] Rawlinson MSS., D. 916, f. 67, Bodleian Library.

[2] Sir Hugh Cholmley ("An Account of Tangier," p. 9) says the Portuguese had eleven churches and chapels; "G. P." puts the number at seventeen.

In October 1666 one of the disused Dominican chapels was fitted up by some of the Protestant officers and inhabitants, and at first was used alternately by the Anglicans and Irish Catholics; but disputes arose between them, and it was evacuated by order of the Government (C.O. 279, 6, f. 97 *et seq.* "Norwood's Letters").

In 1676 the Bishop of London informed the Corporation that he had requested the King to have the English Church repaired, and had also asked if they might have the Roman Catholic Cathedral. The latter request he said the King "would willingly grant" but was prevented by treaty with Portugal, while any of the priests who were there in 1661 still remained (C.O. 279, 18, f. 320). The chief Mosque is said to stand on the site of the English church.

made "very noble, large and commodious," at a cost of £800 It commanded a beautiful view of the Bay and Straits, and ships passing to and from the Mediterranean sailed within sight of its windows.

The westward ramparts of the Upper Castle with Peterborough Tower and Gate overlooked the open country,[1]

"a land very rich and pleasant, abundantly luxuriant in the production of fine Flowers (as Narcissus, Crocus, Iris, etc.), and sweet-smelling plants, which with so much care and cost are nourished and reared in the Gardens of Europe; so that the Hay made there by the Garison, is only a wither'd nosegay of Rosemary, Thyme, Marjoram, Pennyroyal and other sweet-smelling Herbs." ("G. P.")

The soil in and round Tangier was described as "a mingled mould between a gravill and a black earth," except in certain sandy districts. Hay was usually carried in May, barley and wheat in June. It was suggested that vineyards might with advantage be planted. Reports of the natural fruitfulness of the soil roused the interest of no less distinguished a gardener than John Evelyn, who sent a special message to Mr Shere to "remember the *poor gardener*, if he happen on any kernels or seeds of such trees and plants (especially evergreens) as grow about those precincts."[2]

Almost every house had its garden, but most of those belonging to soldiers were sadly neglected. Henry Shere observed "in the sumer time . . . some plots or little gardens of the private Souldiers," round their quarters, but most of the men had little idea of supplementing their musty rations of salted beef and dried pease with fresh vegetables and fruit of their own growing. Improvidence and neglect did much to impair the natural resources of the neighbourhood.

"The fields about the Town were heretofore much more delightful," wrote "G. P.," when they stood full of Orange Trees, Lemons, Olives, Pomegranats, Figgs and Mulberries; but some time since, there being no timely provision made

[1] Budgett Meakin, "Land of the Moors," p. 94. Now the Bāb Marshān—260 feet above sea-level—overlooking "a breezy plateau of common land, the Marshán, where golf and cricket hold sway."

[2] Evelyn to Pepys (Smith's "Life," etc., of Pepys, i. 236 237).

Sandhill. Monmouth Fort.
Bridges Fort. Font Fort. Catherine Fort. James Fort.
Way to Tetuan. The river. Norwood Fort. Anne Fort.
Way to Arzilla. Whitehall, a fort and Taverne. The valley.

Herb and Kitchan (?) Gardens to the Towne. Bowling Green.
The Wall of Tangier.

VIEW FROM PETERBURGH TOWER.

BY WENCESLAUS HOLLAR.

[To fa

for firing, the Souldiers were necessitated tc cut them down and burn them, for want of other Fewel."

To the few lovers of gardening in the garrison the temperate climate must have been a delight; there was no frost to kill tender plants and but little excessive heat, the temperature seldom falling below 40 degrees F., or rising above 80 degrees.[1] With a little care almost anything could be made to grow; "G. P." mentions peas, beans, artichokes, (asparagus growing wild in the fields), strawberries, lettuce, purslane, cucumbers,

"melons so plentiful, so various in the shape and kind that it cannot be described to understanding and belief," limes, citrons, "apricocks," peaches and other fruits; "they ordinarily use Calabashas" he adds, "a kind of a long Pompion, and Simnels, instead of Cabbage and Turnip, but they are no way comparable to either of them."

The most noteworthy garden was one made by Captain Daniel, at Charles Fort of tragic fate, which stood on a little hill about a quarter of a mile from the town, facing Teviot Hill.

"Out of Foraging Port, the Gate that looks to the Sea," writes "G. P." "an even plain and very pleasant Walk leads to Charles Fort, a strong and well fortified Place and commanded by Capt Charles Daniel, whose Ingenuity I must not forget, that hath so curiously beautified the Fort, without impairing the strength, having on one side made a most delightful Walk between the Wall and the Graft, about 12 foot wide and near 200 yards long, curiously Gravelled, and covered close with vines, which run up upon Pillars and afford a cool shade on the hottest day. On another side he hath his Melon Gardens, and not far from thence his Garden for Flowers and Herbs, so that Charles Fort, which is the great terrour to the Moors and which they dare not come near, is the greatest delight of the Inhabitants of Tangier, and continually visited like Spring-Garden."

Henry Teonge also praises Captain Daniel's gardens,

"which lye clearely round about the fort, and shadowed with an arboure of vines of all sorts and of his owne planting

[1] Budgett Meakin, "Land of the Moors," pp. 102-103.

Where he hath also all sorts of sweete herbes and flowers and all manner of garden stuff; with strawburys and mellons of all sorts, figgs and fruit trees of his owne planting."[1]

A few years later, Charles Fort lay in ruins, its beautiful gardens trampled in the dust by a victorious Moorish army.

The climate of Tangier, enervating though pleasant, was often unfavourable to the health of newcomers, who were "troubled with a flux" and

"welcomed constantly with strange Blisters and Pimples like to the Small-pox, which is generally attributed to the biting of Muskitoes (which are just the Gnats in some parts of England, but a little more pert)."[2]

Some people, however, thought the affection "to proceed from an Ebullition of the Blood, upon change of the Air."

Usually, in about six months' time, remarks one writer, "our temper agreed exceedingly well with the temper of the climate."[3] Bad colds were at times extremely prevalent, and the illness which troubled the garrison, during both the hot weather and the rains, was often attributed to the badness of the climate, which was made the ground of many an application for leave. There were, however, other causes more than sufficient to account for any amount of disease, including the "flux and scurvy which made men die apace."[4] The frequent outbreaks of scurvy are easily traceable to the salted meat, often in bad condition, which formed the staple part of army rations; dirt, hard-drinking, and bad food injured the health of many of the soldiers, and caused uncounted deaths among the garrison and townspeople. Heaps of refuse were allowed to accumulate in the streets to breed the germs of disease; little care was taken to preserve the purity of the water; regulations were indeed made from time to time with a view to improving the sanitary condition of the town; but were unavailing against the carelessness of the people.

After 1668 the Corporation was made responsible for

[1] "Diary," p. 32.

[2] "G. P.," *op. cit.*

[3] "A Description of Tangier" (583, C. 8, Brit. Mus.).

[4] Fairborne to Lord Commissioners, 5th December 1677 (Add. MSS., Brit. Mus., 17021, f. 38).

the care of the streets and market, public buildings, sewage, water, pest-houses etc;[1] and went so far as to appoint a city scavenger, and

"their Worps were pleased to order . . . that . . . those that would clense theire owne dores or backsides might doe it, and that those that would have their durt, soyle or rubbidg carried or taken away by the scavenger might agree with him by the month or quarter . . . but soe it is" plaintively remarked the said scavenger, in a petition addressed to the Common Council, "that your Petitioner canot gitt his money agreed for."[2]

As time went on the carelessness of the Corporation grew apace; at almost every session of the Court such presentments as the following were made by the Grand Jurors.

"The Corporation, for not taking care to provide a schavenger that may looke to the clensing of the streets. Item, we present the Corporation for not taking care that the Rubage by the great wall . . . against Capt Boynton's house . . . be remov'd. Item, Alderman Edw. Rothe and Alderman Senhouse for not removing the rubage lying oute against . . . the corner of Sir Palmes Fairborne's garden Walle.[3] . . . The Corporation for permitting hoggs to go about the streets . . . an inducement to infection and evill distempers,"[4]

and for not putting into execution orders for cleansing and paving the streets, covering in the water-course, providing a slaughter-house, etc. Such complaints were constantly made but nothing further happened. The Grand Jury continued to present the Corporation, and the Corporation to ignore the presentments of the Grand Jury. The principal members of the Corporation were *ex officio* Justices of the Peace, and,

[1] C. O. 279, 12, f. 163 *et seq.* Instructions for the Corporation, 30th June 1669. Expenses to be paid out of revenues for licenses, rents, duties, wharfage, etc., and fines. The Mayor and Corporation to have the ordering of the works, the Governor to sign warrants to the Treasurer for payments.

[2] Petition of Thomas Emerson, Scavenger for Tangier, to the Mayor, Aldermen and Common Councell, May 1670 (C.O. 279, 13, f. 140).

[3] C.O. 279, 19, f. 328, 3rd November 1676.

[4] *Ibid.*, 2, f. 180, 3rd May 1678.

secure in the dignity of office, they were content, like aldermen of a later date, to

" . . . survey the beastly scene
And view with philosophic calm the streets they ought to clean."

The illness caused by neglect of sanitary precautions was too often aggravated by want of proper treatment.

The hospital at Tangier was intended primarily for the use of the garrison, and was provided for in the several "Establishments," according to which (after the reduction of 1668) the annual sum of £547, 10s. was allowed for its service, "besides the Souldiers pay when sicke added to ye Hospitall towards Maintenance."

Civilians were admitted for treatment when there was room for them, but they probably took little advantage of this privilege. From the first the reputation of the hospital was so bad that men would suffer anything rather than admit to being ill, for fear of being sent there. Sir Hugh Cholmley, writing in February 1664/5, said that it was "att present soe badd men flye it as the grave, looking upon such as goe thither to be sent in order to their buriall, not their health,"[1] and at one time the patients complained that they were given nothing but water-gruel.[2]

When Colonel Norwood was Lieutenant-Governor in 1666 he proposed to use some of the naval prize-money for a new hospital, and during a serious epidemic in the hot weather of 1669, he wrote that "great care was taken to nurse and cherish the sick with wholesome good accommodation."

No permanent improvement was effected, however; even in Lord Inchiquin's time (1678-1680) the hospital was still unfit for use, "exceeding streight, without any garden or place of aire belonging to it," and also very damp.[3] Frequent deaths facilitated the judicious "cooking" of accounts; the pay of deceased patients could be drawn for some time without much fear of discovery. John Luke in his "Journal" relates that the Treasurer for the hospital admitted to him in the course of conversation that "he made up the Accompt of the Hospitall by adding to the

[1] Cholmley to Lords Commissioners for Tangier (C.O. 279, 4, 43).
[2] J. Luke's "Journal," 20th January 1670/1.
[3] Inchiquin's narrative (Sloane MSS., 1952, f. 19 *et seq.*).

number (*i.e.*, of alleged patients) sometimes, as he sees cause." The Secretary tactfully refrained from pursuing the subject, for he says, "hee (the Treasurer) beganne to grow weary of my questions, so I excused him from further troble, and tooke him into the cellar."[1]

The Lords Commissioners for Tangier appear to have suspected that all was not as it should be, and in 1675 appointed four overseers for the hospital, who were ordered to send home regular reports.[2] These overseers—the Mayor, the eldest alderman, and the two field officers of the garrison —were instructed to arrange about the diet for the hospital, the cost of which was not to exceed ninepence per head per diem, to include attendance and coals. The Captain of the Watch and the "Phisitian" were ordered to visit the hospital daily, and regular accounts and reports of the sick were to be kept; admission of patients was to be by ticket only. In 1676 the physician was forbidden by the Commissioners to be "Provider of the diet as an undertaker" since this "makes voide his being a checque which is a principall security for right usage in the diet."

The hospital, like everything else at Tangier, was constantly short of money, and the patients suffered accordingly. Between December 1674 and December 1677 only £1,091, 17s. 4d. was paid in;[3] in May 1683 the hospital committee was forced to borrow from merchants in order to pay immediate expenses, the Governor being "verie bare of moneyes" and even then they felt obliged to discharge "all that without hazard of their lives could be without fresh provisions."[4]

[1] J. Luke's "Journal," 7th January 1671.

[2] C.O. 279, 17. Order of the Commissioners, 31st March 1675. There was also a steward of the hospital, probably appointed by the overseers (Dartmouth MSS., i. 104).

[3] Audit Office declared accounts, 310, 1224 (P.R.O.), Pepys's account, 31st December 1674 to 31st December 1677. Money paid to the Mayor for the use of the hospital by order of the Commissioners of the hospital, confirmed by the Commander-in-Chief=£1,091, 17s. 4d.

[4] C.O. 279, 31, f. 300. Committee of Hospital to Lords Commissioners, 15th May 1683. The committee report that they took up moneys from the Treasurer by order of the Governor and supplied the hospital to 1st May. They have disbursed £264, 9s. 7½d. more than they have received, things being much cheaper for ready money than on trust. The sum of £500 borrowed from

Medical officers were included with "Field and staff officers," and provided for by the Establishment. At the beginning of the Occupation "two Phisitians and an Apothecary" were numbered among "general officers and those of the trayne" (Establishment for 1661), and each of

merchants' factors upon interest was drawn on the Lords Commissioners; £250 in favour of Mr Lodington and Mr Onebie, merchants of London, and £250 in favour of Mr Stone, merchant at Cadiz, at thirty days' notice. They beg these bills may be accepted and paid. (Signed) Wm. Smith, Mayor, Charles Trelawny, M. Boynton, Wm. Staines.

C.O. 279, 33, f. 78, March 1683/4. Hospital account for half a year; expenses from 1st February 1682/3 to 1st May 1683 = £907, 0s. 7½d.

RECEIPTS.

By six months' allowance to the hospital, advanced by the Treasurer by the Governor's order	£257	4	2½
By adjustment of provisions left in y^e^ Stores	149	19	3
	642	10	11½
Deficit . . .	264	9	7½
	£907	0	7½

The principal items of expenditure are bread, wine, brandy, meat, wood, repairs, "cloath for ye fomentations," "small kittles," etc., and wages. In the first three months the baker was paid £126, 19s. 9½d.

"To ye Stewards necessary expences and cookes and nurses waidges"	£ 26	4	1½
The gardener	1	10	0

In the second three months £87, 7s. 4d. was paid for bread.

"Cookes and nurses waidges"	£11	5	0
Stewards "3 months sallery"	13	0	0
Stewards necessary expenses	16	9	10
Gardener	1	10	0

The account is signed by the four "overseers"— WM. SMITH (Mayor).
CHA. TRELAWNY.
M. BOYNTON.
WILLIAM STAINES.

Davis, *op. cit.*, i. 180 (note), gives the following extract from the Audit Office declared accounts, 310, 1226. Account of Mr William Hewers for provisions delivered "by way of essay, for use of sick and wounded men in hospital at Tangier."

White biscuits	1882 cwts.
Oatmeal	88 bushels, 2 gallons
French barley	1972 cwts.
Currants	1882 ,,
Rice	1792 ,,
Tamarinds	407½ ,,
Mace	2910½ ,,
Cinnamon	29 (½ 07s.) cwts.
White sugar	941 cwts.
Brown sugar	2823 ,,

In money to buy oranges and lemons, etc., at the rate of 6d. each (patient).

the four regiments had, in addition, its "chirurgeon and chirurgeon's mate," but after 1668 the medical staff consisted of only one physician, one surgeon, and one surgeon's mate.[1]

Occasionally an extra physician or two came over in attendance on a Governor or Ambassador, but the only considerable help that could be counted on in times of special stress was that of the ship's doctors of the Mediterranean squadron, who came gallantly to the assistance of the wounded during the fighting of 1680.[2]

Nursing was probably undertaken by soldiers' wives or widows. The staff must have been very small, "cooks and nurses waidges" for three months being only £11, 5s. When the troops left Tangier in the winter of 1683-1684 two "Women for nurses" went in the hospital ship, *Welcome*, with forty invalid soldiers and seamen, in charge of Dr Lawrence,[3] and it seems likely that these women had previously been regularly attached to the hospital.

Though the sick and wounded, no doubt, often suffered from neglect and want, they were not altogether forgotten by the King. After the fighting of 1664 an extra money warrant was made out for £48 to Colonel Norwood, being expended for sick soldiers that came from Tangier.[4] The

[1] A surgeon was paid at the rate of 4s. a day, surgeon's mate 2s. 6d., physician 10s., apothecary 5s. By the Establishment of 1674/5 the physician's pay was increased to 15s. a day.

On 27th June 1680 Colonel Fairborne wrote to Sir L. Jenkins: "We have but one chirurgion and mate allowed to the Garryson, and they express'd chirurgions to the regiment so that they grumble to serve the garrison, and desire either an addition of pay, or leave to departe. Now in consideration that they are very good men and know the constitution of the place and that their sallaryes are soe lowe that noe men of skill or knowledge will serve for it, I have most humbly offered to their Lord^pps that the Mate's pay may be increased to 5s. a day and the Master chirurgion to 8s. a day, for under they cannot live and there is noe being without them" (C.O. 279, 25, f. 253).

[2] In Sackville's account, 1680-1682 (Audit Office declared accounts, 437, 161) the payments include £18, 15s. "to seven chirurgeons belonging to H.M.'s friggotts, for their care and diligence about sicke and wounded men." They must have been sent ashore by order of Vice-Admiral Herbert.

[3] Davis, *op. cit.*, i. 251. The *Welcome* sailed 26th February 1684, the *Unity* hospital ship on 16th October 1683, with one hundred and fourteen infirm soldiers and one hundred and four "females and children." No special mention is made of nurses in this ship.

[4] Cal. of Treasury Books, i. 649, 10th February 1664/5.

meagre revenues of the hospital were many times supplemented by grants for wounded soldiers from the King's privy purse.[1] The needs of their families were also remembered. The hospital committee was charged with the distribution of a special fund of £200 per annum granted by the King "for putting to work the poor children of Tanger." This fund seems to have been afterwards more generally used for the relief of the poor, the claims of soldiers' orphans being first considered. In 1683 the Hospital Committee assured the Lords Commissioners that care was not wanting in distributing "His Majestie's gracious alowance to widdows and orfans," etc.[2]

Very little is recorded of the school at Tangier. Richard Reynolds, M.A., Fellow of Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, was employed as schoolmaster in 1675,[3] and George Mercer, clerk, held the post in 1683. The usher and writing master, John Eccles, combined his duties with those of a gunner, so that his classes must have been held irregularly at times.[4]

One of the pamphleteers of the day, in attempting to account for the failure of the English Occupation of Tangier, advances as the first cause the irreligion that spread unchecked among the inhabitants.[5] Mr John Bland, Mayor of Tangier, whose knowledge of Scripture was better than his geography, was of the same opinion. There were a great many "false brethren," he wrote:—

"When there was no King in Israel every one did what he thought good in his owne eyes and soe doe wee, for wee are not very far from India being on the same Continent, and soe may some what savour of their Irreligion."[6]

To men like Bland, no doubt one of the worst features of the place was the full religious liberty allowed to all by special order of the King. The official form of worship was

[1] Secret Service Moneys of Charles II. and James II.

[2] C.O. 279, 31, f. 300, 15th May.

[3] Cal. S.P. Dom., 17th April 1675.

[4] Dartmouth MSS., Report, i. 104. Eccles succeeded Mr Hughes, in about 1676, at a salary of £30 a year, with a convenient lodging, but for upwards of five years was obliged to find his own lodging at a total cost of £39, 3s. (petition for compensation).

[5] "The Present Interest of Tangier," 583, 1, 3 (6), Brit. Mus.

[6] Bland to Williamson, 12th March 1675 (C.O. 279, 17).

that of the Church of England; but the Romanists had their Cathedral, and the Jews their Synagogue. Religious jealousy was at times acute; but toleration—a usual principle of Charles II.'s colonial policy—was the established rule.

After the passing of the Test Act in 1673,[1] many officers of the garrison obtained from the Minister the required certificates, showing that they had received the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper according to the ritual of the Church of England; and in 1681 Colonel Kirke and fifty-six officers took the oaths of supremacy and allegiance.[2] Before this time officers and soldiers were allowed to do practically as they pleased, and the "Test" was never very strictly enforced at Tangier.

The First Establishment for Tangier allowed to each regiment a chaplain at 6s. 8d. a day; after the reduction of the garrison in 1668 the list of staff officers includes, "1 Minister at 10s. per diem." The appointment of this Minister was the prerogative of the Bishop of London. Lancelot Addison was the first chaplain to the garrison, and was followed by Marius d'Assigny, B.D. Dr Turner held the post for some years, and after him, Dr Hughes.

Service in the garrison church was regularly celebrated on Sundays and Saints' days, according to the Liturgy of the Church of England, by order of the Lords Commissioners, and it was enacted by the "Lawes and Ordinances of War" that "all those (soldiers) who often and willing absent themselves from Sermons and publique Prayers, shall be proceeded against at discretion."[3]

"At discretion" was an elastic term, but a certain amount

[1] The Test Act (25 Car. ii. c. 2) passed in spite of great opposition from the King, provided that all persons holding any office or place of trust, civil or military, should publicly receive the Sacrament according to the rites of the Church of England, and also take the oath of supremacy and allegiance, and subscribe a declaration against the doctrine of Transubstantiation. All dissenters were disabled by the Act, but it was aimed chiefly against Roman Catholics, and especially the Duke of York, who was obliged by it to resign the post of Lord High Admiral (Taswell Langmead, "English Constitutional History," p. 524, and R. Lodge, "Political History of England," pp. 116, 117).

[2] C.O. 279, 28, ff. 240-247. Certificates signed by Ric. Bravell, Thos. Hughes, and William Morgan.

[3] Davis, i., Appendix C., gives the "Lawes and Ordinances" in full from the State Papers.

of Sunday observance was exacted from the garrison. Dicing, swearing, and drunkenness, usually tolerated during the week, were punishable when openly indulged in on Sundays or Saints' days; outward forms at least were always kept up.

Every Sunday the Mayor "the two baylyes before him instead of a Mace,"[1] the Aldermen in scarlet gowns "acquired at great charge," and the common Councillors in purple, went in state up to the Castle to meet the Governor, and attend him to church. Here the Governor occupied the right hand front pew, "the military and their families" being immediately behind him, while the Mayor and Corporation sat on the left. This arrangement was made by special order of the Lords Commissioners to avoid dispute.[2]

Mr John Luke, Lord Middleton's secretary, having described the ceremonious procession to church on a Sunday in December 1670, continues,

"the bell not having rung, wee tooke view of the Minister's house, which when finished will be one of the prettyest in Towne, and is agreable of greate additions.

"Mr Turner after prayers tooke his text 'the Sabbaoth was made for man, not man for the Sabbaoth,' on which he made a most unseasonable discourse against strict Sabbatarians, this place being without doubt inclined rather to too much liberty than an over severe strictnesse."

When Lord Dartmouth went to Tangier in 1683 he was accompanied by Dr Ken, who assisted the then Minister, Dr Hughes, and preached at morning service, according to Pepys, "a very fine and seasonable, but most unsuccessful argument, particularly in reproof of the vices of this town."

"I was in pain for the Governor and the officers about us in the church," adds Pepys, thoughtfully, "but I perceived that they regarded it not." After dinner Pepys again went to church and heard "a foolish sermon of Hughes's," but did not consider the evening wasted, as he "had the pleasure of

[1] A mace and sword were conferred upon the Corporation in 1675 (C.O. 279, 17).

[2] C.O. 279, 12, f. 163-166. Instructions for the Corporation, 30th June 1669. Signed by the Duke of York, Prince Rupert, Lord Peterborough, Lord Sandwich, Cholmley, Pepys, Povey, and Creed, Secretary.

again seeing fine Mrs Kirke, better dressed than before, but yet short of what I have known her."[1]

John Luke gives the following account of Christmas Day, 1670:—

"Being the day of our Saviour's Nativity, I stirred not from home till just Church time, then waited on his Excy to the Church where Mr Turner made as he thought a scholastique sermon, but the most insignificant one that I have at any time heard. But his Administration of the Communion being according to the Church of England I stayed and joyned with the other Communicants, which were not many. After that Sir Hugh tooke mee to dinner. . After dinner his Excy spent some time at Sir Hugh's then walked till Church time. After Church hee, Sr Hugh and my Lady in theire barge, and then retired to the Parade, from thence to the Castell by my house. . . . I spent some time at home, after I came out then rode my horse to water and soe to the Castell, there I waited on his Excy till neere seaven, then I left Coll Alsop and Major ffairborne with him and soe retired to my owne house to spend the remainder of the Evening as becomes so solemne an occasion. Weather like Midsummer with little wind in the morning and that easterly, but before night it came about westerly."

[1] Smith, "Life," etc., of Pepys, i. 374.

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CHAPTER XVI

THE GARRISON

THE necessity for maintaining the garrison of Tangier was a valuable help to Charles II. in carrying out his aim of laying the foundations of a new standing army. Charles himself would have been willing enough to see Cromwell's "New Model" transferred to the service of the Crown had such a thing been practicable, but the country had grown tired of military despotism. The control of the militia which had been the ultimate point in dispute between Crown and Commons on the eve of the civil war, was given without question into the hands of the King at the Restoration; but this was intended to be the limit of his military power. The new Parliament dreaded nothing so much as coercion by a standing army, and gladly accepted the services of Monk in the disbandment of the old Republican troops. A timely insurrection of the fanatics, known as "Fifth-Monarchy men," gave Charles an excuse for the permanent maintenance of a few regiments, which might be added to as occasion offered. The acquisition of Tangier neutralised the sale of Dunkirk, and two new regiments of foot were added to the regular army on its behalf.[1]

The regiment of foot raised by Lord Peterburgh in 1661,

[1] 1661 and 1680. Colonel Clifford Walton, "History of the British Standing Army," chap. i., and the Hon. J. W. Fortescue, "History of the British Army," book iv., chap. i.

A complete account of military affairs at Tangier may well be left to the regimental and military historians (Colonel J. Davis and Colonel C. Walton, and Cannon, "Historical Records of the British Army"), but it seems convenient, at the risk of some repetition, to gather together here some of the principal details of the administrative history of the garrison.

specially for service at Tangier, was the first regiment, after the Guards, that was placed on the Establishment.[1]

The rest of the troops forming the original garrison of Tangier consisted of the troop of horse raised by Peterburgh,[2] and three regiments of foot from the garrison of Dunkirk, which were shipped off by command of Lord Rutherford, then Governor, on 9th December 1661, to join Peterburgh in the Downs.[3]

Peterburgh's original orders were to raise a regiment of fifteen hundred men;[4] but it appears in the First Establishment for Tangier that only one thousand were actually raised. Some of these may have been old soldiers from Cromwell's army, but after events seem to show that many of them were untrained recruits.

The regiment was formed into ten companies, and was known as "Lord Peterburgh's" or "the Governor's" regiment. Subsequent governors of Tangier were appointed to its command, as a matter of course, and the regiment was known by the name of its Colonel until 1680, when, after the death of Colonel Sir Palmes Fairborne, it was usually styled the "Old Regiment" or "Old Tangier Regiment," in distinction from the reinforcements which were sent out at that time. Of the remaining three regiments, which were later on incorporated with the Governor's regiment, Sir Robert Harley's ("the English Regiment") consisted nominally of

[1] Lieutenant-Colonel John Davis, F.S.A., "History of the 2nd Queen's Royal Regiment," i. 1, now the Queen's (Royal West Surrey) Regiment. The regiment was first mustered on Putney Heath (Dalton, "English Army Lists," i. 9).

[2] Cannon, "Historical Record of the 1st, or Royal Dragoons." "A Description of Tangier and Proceedings of the English at Tangier" (1664) says that Peterburgh lifted one thousand foot in Southwark and three hundred horse in Blackheath. The troop of horse, however, according to the First Establishment, amounted to only one hundred, exclusive of officers (C.O. 279, i. f. 25; Davis, pp. 19-23).

[3] Davis, p. 27; Rawl. MSS., D. 916, f. 67. "A Description of Tangier," etc. Rutherford, afterwards Earl of Teviot and Governor of Tangier, was the last Governor of Dunkirk, where he succeeded Sir Robert Harley. Dunkirk, which became an English possession in June 1658, was sold to France by Charles II. in November 1662, for £200,000.

[4] C.O. 279, i. f. 36, 13th September 1661. An order to the treasurer to pay Lord Peterburgh £3,800 for his own payment, and for raising one hundred horse and fifteen hundred foot. By imprest and on account.

ten companies of one hundred men each, Colonel Fitzgerald's ("the Irish Regiment"), and Colonel Farrel's, each of ten companies of fifty men.[1]

These, with the hundred horse raised by Peterburgh, brought up the establishment nominally to three thousand one hundred men besides officers, but the actual numbers fell short of this from the first. The first muster held at Tangier on 30th January 1662 shows a total of two thousand seven hundred and twenty-three foot and ninety-eight horse.[2]

In April 1663 Lord Teviot was instructed to reduce the four regiments to two, one English and one Irish, ten companies of one hundred men in each, Teviot to command the one and Fitzgerald the other;[3] but in October it was arranged that the English regiment should consist of fifteen companies and the Irish of five.[4]

In 1664, after the heavy losses in May, when Teviot was killed,[5] Colonel Fitzgerald was commissioned as Lieutenant-Governor, and directed to review the remaining troops and remodel the regiments, abolishing as much as possible the national distinctions of English, Irish, and Scotch. One regiment of nine companies was to be under his own command, the other of eight companies under that of Colonel Norwood, while Colonel Bridges was to command the horse.[6] Six months after Fitzgerald's return to Tangier with these instructions, he reported that he had only one thousand four hundred and fifty foot, after remodelling the

[1] Establishment for Tangier, 1661 (C.O. 279, i. f. 25); Davis, pp. 19-23.

[2] Davis, p. 31. The Governor's regiment, 1,000; Colonel Farrel's, 381; Colonel Fitzgerald's, 395; Sir Robert Harley's, 947. These figures are probably correct, though the Navy Commissioners estimated for 3,500 men's victuals for six months and cost of transporting, £21,940, and "Beere," £6,125 (C.O. 279, i. f. 56, December 1661). A council of officers held at Tangier on 12th February 1661/2 asked that rations might be provided for 3,218 men.

The numbers at the muster of 23rd October 1662, were: the Governor's regiment, 793; Sir R. Harley's, 559; Colonel Farrel's, 371; Colonel Fitzgerald's, 395 (Davis, p. 41).

[3] Teviot's instructions, 27th April 1663, sent by Mr Luke (C.O. 279, 2 f. 60).

[4] C.O. 279, 2 f. 112.

[5] *Ibid.*, 3, ff. 65-68. Colonel Bridges reported the members of the garrison at one thousand four hundred and fifteen foot, and the horse (which had been augmented by Teviot) at one hundred and forty (twenty-nine unmounted) 26th May 1664.

[6] *Ibid.*, 3, ff. 118-124. Fitzgerald's instructions, 7th June 1664.

two regiments, though he estimated that four thousand were needed, including four hundred men to work on the fortifications as the King wished, four hundred to mount guard, and four hundred to work on the mole. There were about two hundred sick and one hundred officers' servants free from duty.[1]

Lord Belasyse reduced the estimate of men needed to two thousand; but there was not enough money to maintain even these. A renewed Commission for Tangier of 17th August 1664, assigned £70,500 for the needs of the garrison,[2] but the sum assigned was not forthcoming. Belasyse found on his arrival in April 1665 that Colonel Fitzgerald had scarcely a penny left of the money he had taken over, the troops were nine months in arrears of pay, and their provisions were exhausted, and "Mr Povey so neglected them that had not the *Hornet* Frigate arrived, the place would have been lost." The Governor wrote that four hundred soldiers were daily employed on the mole and fortifications,

"but as we labor and toyle like horses to promote these great workes, so I beseach your Lordship to lett 2 new companyes be added to make up the establichment to 2000 foot as in My Lord Tiviott's time . . . our dewty is so hard as 'tis impossible to perform it . . . under a less number."[3]

In June 1666, Colonel Norwood, then Lieutenant-Governor, finding that expenses still exceeded supplies, sent in plans for economising. He suggested that the garrison, "which is now kept up to this proportion meerly for the cause of the Mole, may be safely reduced to one Regiment of 1200 foote" and when the town is better fortified, the "charge" might again be reduced by half, and might moreover in part "be raysed uppon the place by perquisites that I can chalke out," and "as for the horse, they are already a needles burthen" and may be abolished, for every officer and citizen will keep a horse if given a load of hay yearly and a little land to raise corn.[4]

[1] C.O. 279, 4, ff. 4 and 5. Fitzgerald to Lords Commissioners, 12th January 1664/5.

[2] C.O, 279, 3, f. 240. Commission for Tangier, 17th August 1664.

[3] Reports from Lord Belasyse, 12th April, 13 and 29, 1665 (C.O. 279, 4 ff 69, 71 and 76).

[4] Norwood to Arlington, 10th June 1666 (C.O. 279, 6, f. 59.

This idea of establishing a kind of citizen militia was shared by Colonel Norwood with Sir Hugh Cholmley, who, as candidate for the post of Governor, made many proposals of reform. The scheme was based on the method of defence adopted by the former Portuguese inhabitants of Tangier, one thousand three hundred of whom (one thousand foot and three hundred horse) were enrolled in their King's pay, the foot for manning the walls, the horse only for offensive warfare. The usual success of the latter was attributed by Cholmley to the help of several mounted spies, well-versed in the language and manners of the Moors, who, in Moorish garb, invariably reconnoitred the ground to be covered, before an expedition was made, and who on many occasions went undiscovered among the neighbouring natives.[1]

This plan did not altogether recommend itself to the Tangier Committee, but a "militia of freemen" was afterwards established, and at first placed under the control of the civil government.[2] In 1677 this order was cancelled by a new one, which provided that officers of the militia must be members of the Corporation, nominated by the Mayor and commissioned by the Commander-in-Chief. A muster could only be held by order or consent of the Commander-in-Chief and with the cognisance of the Mayor.[3]

The town militia proved useful during the siege of 1680, when it made a demonstration at Peterburgh Tower in order to divert the attention of the enemy from the main sortie.

Colonel Norwood was disappointed by the rejection of his plan in favour of one drawn up by Belasyse in 1666, which was sent home with various other proposals, and ultimately accepted with some modifications.

By this plan the cost of the military establishment was to be much reduced; instead of two regiments of (nominally) one thousand men each, there was to be one of one thousand six hundred. The remaining troop of horse was to be replaced

[1] Cholmley's "An Account of Tangier," and "A Discourse of Tangier" (Rawlinson MSS., A. 341, f. 43 *et seq.*).

[2] Lords Commissioners to Corporation of Tangier, 26th November 1675 (C.O 279, 17).

[3] Order of 8th December 1677; *ibid.*, 21, f. 320, and of 10th May 1677, *ibid.*, 20, f. 300.

by a guard of forty, the salaries of officers were to be redistributed, and the staff reduced.[1]

Belasyse also proposed that the garrison should be supplied with fresh provisions to be bought in the neighbourhood, that the soldiers should not be forced to stay at Tangier longer than five years, and that they should be paid regularly; that the "fund" should be better settled and a contract given to a goldsmith of Lombard Street, because "no credit can be got on bills of exchange which arrive twenty months after the tallyes are struck."

These reforms were criticised by Norwood as "small retrenchments, useless and harmful," but on the other hand, Major Fairborne deprecated Norwood's own proposal to reduce the garrison to one thousand two hundred men, as this would bring them "to less than 3rd nights duty, and the gards but weakly man'd."

Several officers were thrown out of employment by the new arrangement, and among them Edward Witham, Captain of a troop of horse[2] who had distinguished himself in the earlier fights with Ghaïlân. Major Fairborne wrote home

"the greatest losse the King can sustaine in the loss of officers in this place is for Ned Witham, whose valour and discretion hath been ever highly extolled amongst us and now much lamented for."

Colonel Norwood too requested that Witham might be "squeezed into the establishment," and Belasyse promised that his pay should be continued.[3]

In 1668 the new Establishment came into force by Royal

[1] C.O. 279, 6, f. 121, October 1666. *Cf.* Pepys's "Diary," 13th October 1666. "He" (the Duke of York) "and my Lord Chancellor, and Duke of Albemarle, and Prince Rupert, Lord Bellasses, Sir H. Cholmly, Povy and myself met at a Committee for Tangier. My Lord Bellasses's propositions were read and discoursed of about reducing the garrison to less charge; and indeed I am mad in love with my Lord Chancellor for he do comprehend and speak out well. . . . Most things moved were referred to Committees, and so we broke up.'

[2] Dalton, "English Army Lists and Commission Registers," i. 42, 51.

[3] *Cf.* Establishment for 1668, 6s. per diem. allotted "to an officer having Lieutenants pay," probably Witham.

order;[1] it effected a reduction of about £20,000 a year on the expense of the first Establishment, and remained in force until 1675.

The numbers of the garrison were rapidly diminished by war and disease, and it was not easy to keep pace with the constant demands for reinforcements.

The recognised method of obtaining recruits for the newly formed standing army was that of voluntary enlistment;[2] by his Commission of 6th September 1661, from the King, Peterburgh was granted

"full power and authority, by beat of drum, proclamacons or otherwise, in our name to raise lift arme array and put under command such and soe many Voluntiers both of horse and foot Within this our kingdome of England, or anie other our kingdomes or Dominions, as shall make upp and compleate the numbers designed by us in the Establishment for that service."

It does not appear that Peterburgh at first found any difficulty in raising men for service at Tangier, but the unfortunate experience of the troops on their first arrival, when overcrowding and want of common necessaries brought illness and death to so many, gave the place a bad reputation and made men in England very unwilling to enlist for its service.

From time to time officers home on leave from Tangier were given authority "to beat their drums for volunteers."[3] In 1663 Teviot enlisted four hundred foot soldiers and one hundred troopers in Scotland;[4] in the winter of 1665/6 Colonel Norwood and Major Fairborne were trying to raise men in Somerset, Devon, and Cornwall. The convenience of embarking troops at Plymouth or Falmouth for Tangier caused the demand for recruits to fall most heavily on

[1] *See* Appendix iii. for Tangier Establishments. (Cal. S.P. Dom., 16th March 1668, p. 290). Warrant to the Duke of York and Commissioners to reduce the Tangier establishment to £53,797, 15s. 4d., and S.P. Dom.) Entry Books, 72, f. 135, the order to come into force "from our Lady Day next coming." *Cf.* also Cal. of Treasury Books, ii. 482, 484, 488, assignments made for Tangier amounting nominally to £55,500 (November 1668).

[2] Clifford Walton, *op. cit.*, p. 480.

[3] Cal. S.P. Dom., 14th December 1665, p. 102.

[4] Teviot to Bennett, 5th April 1664 (C.O. 279, 3, ff. 51, 53).

the West of England; in December 1665 "90 brave young fellows from Pendennis" were shipped aboard the victuallers, and more men were reported to be marching from Somerset,[1] but Norwood and Fairborne found the west country tradesmen very unwilling to go to Tangier.[2] The government appears to have suggested a new device for obtaining men on the failure of the usual method, for Colonel Norwood wrote from Taunton Dean to tell Lord Arlington that the Deputy-Lieutenants, though anxious to please the King, were much averse to the plan of raising men as if for Plymouth, and then transporting them to Tangier.[3]

In 1668 advantage was taken of an opportunity to obtain seasoned troops for Tangier from the regiments which had been serving in Portugal against the Spaniards, and which were suffering grievously from neglect and lack of pay.[4] Four hundred English troops were ordered from Portugal to Tangier, allowing two hundred men to come home from there, "whereby Tangier might not seeme a prison unto any."[5] On 24th September Colonel Norwood reported the arrival of the *Mermaid*, with the men from Portugal, which, however, he almost regretted, as the stores were then so low, that the garrison was at half-allowance and had "only a month's provision at that."

In 1671, one of the principal Secretaries of State was ordered to attend the Duke of York to consider the best means of keeping the garrison "full to the establishment" and of securing the relief of "superannuated impotent and wearied men."[6] Volunteers were so hard to find, that in 1672

[1] Cal. S.P. Dom., 14th December 1665, p. 102.

[2] *Ibid.*, 23rd November 1665, p. 69. Norwood to Arlington, from Taunton Dean.

[3] *Ibid.*, 28th November 1665, p. 77. Norwood to Arlington, from Taunton Dean.

[4] This was an old project of Sir Richard Fanshaw's, who wrote in June 1663 to Sir Henry Bennet, complaining of the ill-treatment with which the Portuguese Government rewarded the splendid services of the English auxiliaries, and suggesting that "these incomparable troops" might be sent to Tangier. He also wrote to Teviot to wish him the reversion of these troops, "and so I should do were they recruited to ten thousand and all of the same kidney, supposing that room can never be wanting for them who are so good at making of room." (Heathcote MSS., Hist. MSS., Com. Rep., pp. 119, 121).

[5] Order in Council, 15th May 1668 C.O. 279, 10, f. 166

[6] Order in Council, 28th June 1671 (C.O. 279, 14, f. 161).

a demand for two hundred recruits was followed by an Order in Council to impress two hundred men in Somerset, Devon, Cornwall, and Dorset for three years' service at Tangier,[1] although the press-gang, which was considered a legitimate means of obtaining seamen, was regarded as irregular and even illegal in the case of the army.[2]

In 1673 Lord Middleton's complaints of neglect were laid by the Commissioners before the King himself, and Middleton was promised an annual reinforcement of "two entire companies of 100 men apiece," to enable him to send home all disabled soldiers "and some of the weary." This, however, was but an empty promise, or, as the Commissioners put it, "a Reglement that is intended to begin another year." Three hundred men were sent over, but "not in companies," which probably meant that they were volunteers or pressed men, not regular soldiers.[3]

Many of the men obtained by these methods were quite unfitted for foreign service; Sir Palmes Fairborne, reporting the arrival of the "*Woolage* and the *Diamond*" with two hundred and nine recruits ("whereof there was two women that had entered themselves for souldiers in man's aparell"), says "some of them are old men and most very sad creatures, but I hope in time we shall make them good men."[4]

It was true that Tangier was a good training-school, but the Commander-in-Chief had not always time to turn his recruits into "good men" before they were needed. In January 1678 Fairborne begged Sir Joseph Williamson, that recruits might be drawn from the standing regiments, "for the sending such recruits as has come hithertoo is just throwing the King's money away . . . being for the most part young boys and old men."

On 1st March, he wrote again:—

"I againe humbly lay downe before his most Sacred Majesty that itt is of absolute necessity that a reinforce(ment) be made to the garrison or at least that the establishment

[1] Order in Council, 29th March 1672, Cal. S.P. Dom., pp. 250, 441.

[2] Walton, *op. cit.*, pp. 481, 483.

[3] Sloane MSS., 3299, f. 115, 124. Commissioners to Lord Middleton, 10th October and 7th November 1673.

[4] Fairborne to Lords Commissioners, 31st August 1677 (C.O. 279, 21, f. 124.

be compleated with good men drawne out of the standing regiments, for hitherto we have had nothing but the very worst of our nation sent us; I mean since I have had the honour to command."[1]

The unsettled state of affairs at home made the King very unwilling to diminish his small army for the sake of Tangier,[2] but towards the end of the Occupation the determined attacks of the Moors made it absolutely necessary to comply with Fairborne's request for seasoned men; in September 1679, four companies of the Duke of Monmouth's regiment, "very good men," were sent out, but they suffered so much from poor diet and insanitary quarters that by the end of October not two hundred serviceable men remained.[3] In December, two hundred men were ordered from Ireland, their pay to be continued out of the Irish establishment;[4] in 1680, four companies of the Earl of Dunbarton's (Scotch) Regiment, "all old soldiers," were sent from Kinsale, and arrived on 4th April, in the *James* and *Swan*, and at the end of May one hundred and forty-seven old and maimed soldiers were sent home.[5]

The siege of Tangier in 1680 roused public opinion in England, and the King announced his intention of making up the garrison to four thousand foot and five or six hundred horse, and of sending Lord Ossory to command it.[6]

[1] Fairborne to Williamson, 10th January and 1st March 1678 (C.O. 279, 22, ff. 20, 110.)

[2] "Upon tidings from Tangier that one Captain Scroop was fled to the Moors and that the Garrison was in a great strait for want of recruits, it was proposed (at the Council) that three companies should presently be drawn out and sent away; but His Majesty would hear of no such thing, for though he loved Tangier well he loved himself better, and thought there was too much danger at home to part with any of the good men he had." Sir Robert Southwell to James, 1st Duke of Ormonde, 12th April 1679. Ormonde MSS., Hist. MSS., Com. Rep., New Series, iv. 527.

[3] Sloane MSS., 1952, Inchiquin's Report, f. 26 *et seq.*

[4] Ormonde MSS., Report, iv. 569.

[5] London *Gazette*, 17th May, 1680. Letter from Tangier, dated 12th April, and C.O. 279, 25, f. 224. Sir P. Fairborne to Sir L. Jenkins, 3rd June, 1680.

[6] W.O. Ord. Misc., 1082, 27, 30th June 1680. Particulars of requirements for the 1,480 foot and 300 horse to make up the forces at Tangier to 4,080 foot and 600 horse according to the order of His Majesty and the Lords Commissioners. *Cf.* also "Archives de la Maison d'Orange Nassau," 2e serie, vol. v. 407-408. Duke of York to Prince of Orange, 22nd June, and Ormonde MSS., Report, v. 230

The Duke of Ormonde, Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, superintended the embarkation of troops from Ireland with all the haste possible in the face of great difficulties. "There never is 6d. in the Treasury to advance upon such occasions," he wrote. The men deserted by half-companies on the march, and while waiting for their ships, and he feared a mutiny would break out if they were sent without pay.[1]

On 5th June Ormonde succeeded in getting off four English companies from Kinsale, and twelve Scotch companies of the Earl of Dunbarton's regiment sailed on 15th or 16th July.[2] The Earl of Mulgrave went in command of the troops to Tangier, but returned almost at once, "having viewed the city and garrison."[3]

On 2nd July the garrison was reinforced by the "King's Battalion," six hundred strong, consisting of several independent companies regimented under the command of Colonel Sackville, together with the volunteers brought over by the Earl of Plymouth.[4]

Orders were also issued on 13th July 1680 for raising a new regiment of foot, specially for service at Tangier, consisting of sixteen companies of sixty-five men besides officers, to be commanded by the Earl of Plymouth, and

Francis Gwyn to Ormonde, 26th June. Evelyn ("Diary," pp. 49-50) says that the King at first promised Lord Ossory 6,000 foot and 600 horse, but found the expense would be too great.

[1] Letters from the Duke of Ormonde, Carte MSS., cxlvi. 247, 276, and Ormonde MSS., Report, v. 333, 338, 339.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 356. They sailed in the *Ruby*, *Phœnix*, and *Garland*, the two first arrived at Tangier on 29th July (C.O. 279, 25, f. 298). The arrival of four companies in the *Diamond* was reported on 5th July (F. Povey to Edward Sherburne, W.O. Ord. Misc., 1,082, f. 147). The Earl of Dunbarton's Regiment was "le régiment de Douglas," which had been for some time in the service of the King of France, and which takes rank in the British Army from 1661 as the First, or Royal, or Scots Regiment of foot. (Cannon, "Hist. Record of 1st Foot"; Walton, *op cit.*, p. 10; Fortescue, *op cit.*, p. 292.

[3] Edward's Cal. of Carte MSS., 56; Ord. Misc., 1082, 147; "Archives de la Maison d'Orange Nassau," New Series, v. 401.

[4] The King's Battalion comprised two companies (240 men) from the 1st or King's Own Regiment of Foot Guards, under Colonel Edward Sackville and Colonel Bowes; 120 men of the Earl of Craven's (Coldstreams) Regiment, under Captain Tollemache; 120 of the Duke of York's Regiment, Captain Fawtrey (or Fortrey); 120 of the Earl of Mulgrave's Regiment, Captain Kirke. John Ross, "Tanger's Rescue," p. 4; Hamilton, "Grenadier Guards," i. 239, Sackville's Commission, Windsor, 31st May; Dalton, "Army Lists," i. 274.

sent out in place of six hundred men previously ordered from Ireland.[1] The regiment was raised in London and Plymouth, and sailed for Tangier in the *Newcastle* (Captain Russell) in November.[2] It was commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Percy Kirke, as Lord Plymouth died at Tangier on 17th October.

There seems to have been some thought of amalgamating the old Tangier regiment with the new one after the death of Colonel Fairborne in 1680, but the proposal was much disliked, and Lieutenant-Colonel Marmaduke Boynton sent a petition to the King in the name of the officers and men of the Old Regiment, begging him not to "put soe publique a disgrace upon us as to break us (one of the Antientst Regiments of this Kingdome) into one of yesterday." The King acceded to the request with his usual good nature, and Colonel Boynton wrote again to express the thanks of the Regiment for His Majesty's gracious answer to the petition.[3]

In April 1682 Colonel Kirke was appointed to the command of the Old Tangier Regiment,[4] and Lieutenant-Colonel

[1] Walton, *op cit.*, 40, and Cannon, "Hist. Rec. of 4th or King's Own (Royal Lancester) Regiment." The new regiment was reinforced by several officers and a few men from the Duke of Monmouth's "Holland Regiment," which had been lately disbanded (Cannon, p. 7; Dalton, i. 267). The expense of equipping the (2nd Tangier) regiment was estimated as follows:—

Clothing.	£	s.	d.
Coat and breeches	1	16	0
Sergeant's breeches	4	10	0
Hats	0	7	0
Sergeant's hats	0	15	0
Grenadier caps	0	9	6
Neckcloths	0	1	0
Sergeant's neckcloths	0	2	0
Shirts	0	3	6
Sergeant's shirt	0	6	0
Shoes per pair	0	4	6
Stockings per pair	0	2	0
Sergeant's stockings per pair	0	6	0
Sashes for the pikemen	0	2	6

Appointments.	£	s.	d.
Waistbelts	0	4	6
Swords	0	4	6
Pikemen's swords	0	5	0
Grenadier hangers	0	6	6
Sergeant's swords	0	10	6
Collars or bandaliers	0	5	6
Cartouch boxes	0	2	6
Match boxes	0	1	0
Grenade bags	0	6	9
Knapsacks	0	1	6

(Cannon, pp. 4, 5).

[2] Ormonde MSS., Report, New Series, v. 499, and Ord. Misc., 1,082, f. 250 *et seq.*, orders for September, October, and November 1680.

[3] C.O. 279, 27, f. 149, 2nd March 1681, and *ibid.*, 28, f. 7, 3rd June 1681

[4] Dalton, *op cit.*, 1, 295, 19th April 1682

Charles Trelawny succeeded him in the command of the new one, which became known as the 2nd Tangier Regiment, afterwards the 4th or King's Own (Royal Lancaster) Regiment.[1]

Only a few recruits were sent out after 1680, and in the winter of 1683/4 all the troops returned home.[2]

The home government was always very sparing in the provision of horse for Tangier; reports of hilly and broken ground gave an excuse for thinking that cavalry charges like those which had distinguished the late Civil War would be impossible, and that the costly equipment of a strong force of cavalry might well be spared. Peterburgh was commissioned to raise only one hundred horse in 1661,[3] and ordered to "endeavour to entertaine into our Service such of the Portugall Horse as are willing to continue there." The first Establishment for Tangier allowed for

[1] In 1685 it was known as the "Queen Consort's Regiment," and is, consequently, sometimes confused with the 2nd Queen's, then called the "Queen Dowager's Regiment" (Davis, *op cit.*, ii. 44).

[2] The Muster Roll of 1st October 1681 at Tangier gives the following numbers:—

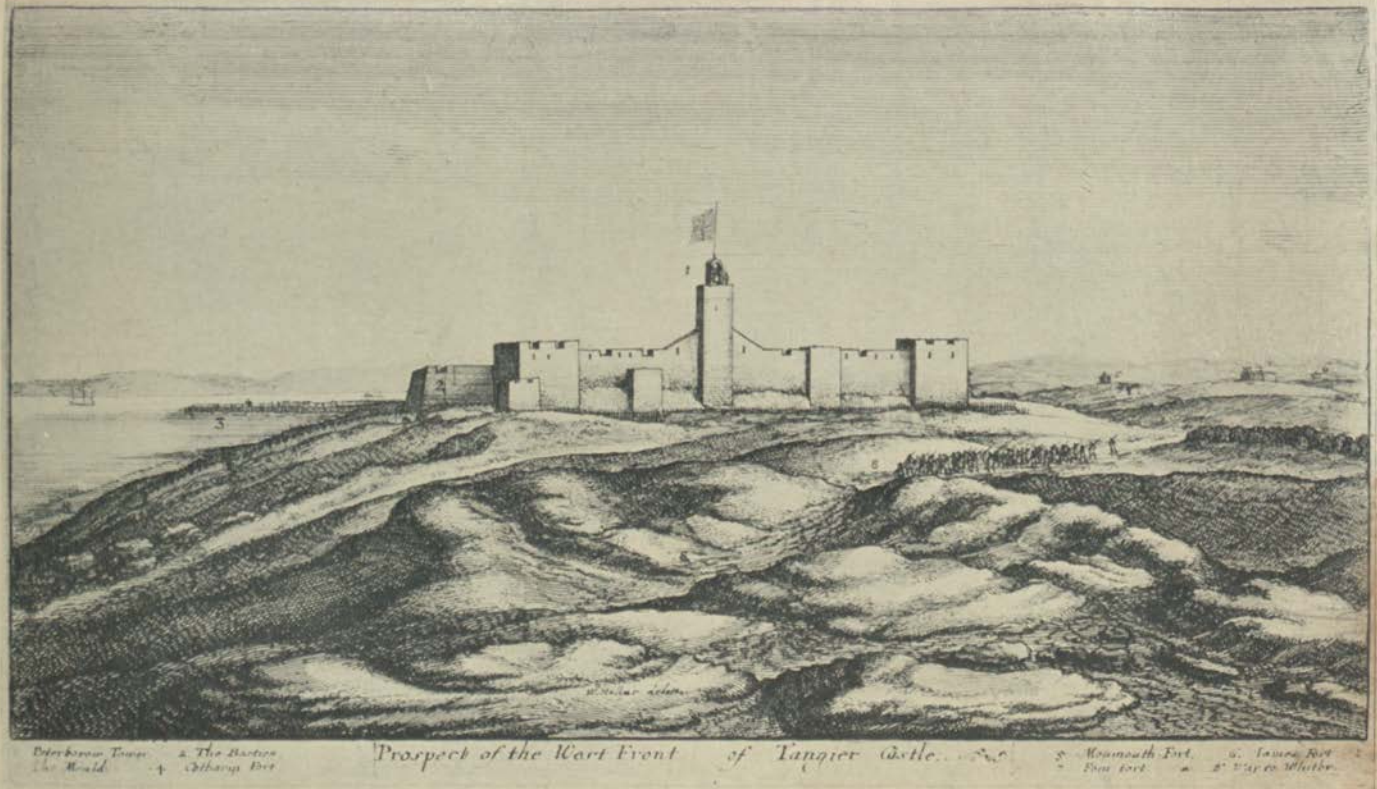
	N.-C. Officers.	Private Soldiers.
5 Companies of His Majesty's battalion	60	431
The Governor's regiment of foot,* 16 companies	128	831
Earl of Dunbarton's Regiment, 16 companies and 4 independent companies	152	1,024
Colonel Percy Kirke's regiment of foot,† 16 companies	112	686
4 troops of horse	19	Troopers, mounted 63 ,, unmounted 112
Gunners, 33		
Company of Miners (Captain R. Basset)	3	Miners, 41
Total, 3,605		

[3] Cannon, "Historical Record of 1st or Royal Dragoons," p. 2. The troop was first mustered in St George's Fields, Southwark. "The troop of horse consisted of three officers, one quarter-master, four corporals, one trumpeter and 100 private men; the ranks were completed with veterans of the Civil War who were armed with cuirasses, iron head-pieces called potts, long swords and a pair of large pistols, to which a short carbine was afterwards added. They were mounted on long-tailed horses of superior weight and power, wore high boots reaching to the middle of the thigh, and scarlet vests: the officers wore hats decorated with a profusion of feathers and both officers and men ornamented their horses tails and heads with large bunches of ribands."

The officers of this troop were — Henry Earl of Peterboro', Captain; Robert Leech, Captain-Lieutenant; Captain Mordaunt, Cornet (Dalton, i. 8).

* The Old Regiment

† The 2nd Tangier Regiment.


Peterborow Tower 2 The Bastion
The Mould 4 Catharine fort
Prospect of the West Front of Tangier Castle
5 Monmouth Fort 6 James fort
7 Font fort 8 Way to Whitby

1. Peterborow Tower.
2. The Bastion.
3. The Mould.
4. Catherine Fort.

THE WEST FRONT OF TANGIER CASTLE.

BY WENCESLAUS HOLLAR.

5. Monmouth Fort.
6. James Fort.
7. Font Fort.
8. Way to Whitby.

[*To face p.* 320.

eighty Portuguese troopers besides officers, but these men refused to enter the English service and returned at once to Portugal, leaving behind only the horses for which they could not find embarkation. These horses were confiscated by Peterburgh, who mounted some foot-soldiers of the garrison and others, to form a second troop.[1]

It was demonstrated over and over again during the English Occupation that at least a few troops of light horse were necessary for the defence of Tangier. For scouting and patrolling, for foraging or for surprising an attacking enemy, they were of the greatest value, while, if the lines were ever to be extended, they would be essential for the skirmishing which would inevitably follow any English aggression.

The Earl of Teviot at least recognised their usefulness. In his time there were three troops in the garrison,[2] but after his death only two were maintained,[3] and by the Establishment of 1668 the horse was reduced to one troop of thirty.

It was not until the siege of 1680 that the pressing demands for cavalry met with any attention. In that year the needs of the garrison could no longer be ignored, and the King issued commissions for the raising of six troops of horse for Tangier.[4] Three of these troops had not set sail, when news was received of the conclusion of

[1] Peterburgh to the King. Harl. MSS., 6844. f. 113. "A Description of Tangier" (C.O. 279, 33, f. 134 *et seq.*). Thomas Povey, Treasurer for Tangier, asserted that ninety-two of the Portugal horse were taken into the King's service; this in a petition to the Privy Council for money for Tangier (C.O. 279, i. f. 106). The Portuguese Government, in reply to a claim for the Queen's Dowry, contended that the reversion of the said troop should be allowed for as part payment of the sum due. (Cal. of Treasury Books, ii. p. 573.) These contentions notwithstanding, there is ample evidence in Peterburgh's reports to prove that the Portuguese troopers did not form part of the garrison after 1662. (*Cf.* Cholmley, "An Account of Tangier," p. 17. Cal. of Treasury Books, i. 428; ii. 573.)

[2] C.O. 279, 3, 65-68 and 76-109. Dalton, i. 42. Davis, i. 72. Muster Rolls, 1664.

[3] C.O. 279, 4, 69, 72. Reports from Belasyse, 12th and 13th April 1665.

[4] The Commissions are dated 13th July 1680. (Dalton, i. 268.) Cannon "Historical Record of 1st Dragoons," p. 6. Captains—The Earl of Ossory, Sir John Lanier, Robert Pulteney, John Coy, Charles Nedby (Needby), and Thomas Langston. The three last named had been Captains in the Duke of Monmouth's late regiment of horse.

peace with the Moors, and they were countermanded. The others, having been hastily equipped and furnished with horses from the Life Guards,[1] reached Tangier in September in time to prove, in conjunction with the old troop and two hundred Spanish auxiliary horse already mentioned, the great value of cavalry in dealing with the Moors. Very soon the numbers of the horse again diminished. The Spaniards went back to their own country, and it was found difficult to keep up the full strength of the English troops. Their horses did badly at Tangier. Kirke reported in June 1681 that they were old when they arrived, throve ill and some died every day. In July there were only eighty horses to the four troops and some of those were unfit for service. Kirke suggested that Spanish horses would be cheaper and better for re-mounts, as the climate and diet would suit them better.[2]

In August 1681, Captains Neatby (Needby), Coy, and Langston, commanding three troops of horse at Tangier, proposed that they should have £2,000 to buy Spanish horses to make up each troop to fifty, with an allowance for transport of the same, and fifty saddles and furniture to each troop; and that, if they can be provided with constant and certain forage, "each captaine will engage to maintaine fifty effective Cavaliers compleatly mounted . . . at their owne costs and charges for the future," except only that for each horse killed in the King's service, the Captain of the troop shall be allowed £13, 6s. 8d. for a new one.[3] A few days later Kirke wrote that the old troop of Captain Mackenny was in as bad a way as the other three, that two hundred horse was the least that could be done with, and he hoped the number might be much greater. After a delay of nearly a year, he was disappointed to hear of the King's decision to maintain at Tangier only one troop of sixty horse. Colonel Sackville and Mr Shere seconded Kirke's request for a strong force of cavalry, and he sent home a pressing representation of its value. It would be costly, he said, but it is essential. We must be ready for

[1] Cannon, p. 6.
[2] Kirke's Reports, 1681 (C.O. 279, 28, ff. 63, 124).
[3] 1st August 1681 (C.O. 279, 28, f. 164).

defence, having regard to the inconstancy and perfidiousness of the Moors—the town cannot exist unless we can maintain some ground outside the walls. The numbers of the Moorish horse, and the nature of the ground render it essential to have horse to divert the enemy while the foot rally, and to guard the retreat of the foot from being cut off by Moorish horsemen, who inspire terror in our people, and quite dishearten them. The reinforcements of horse made our late success possible, and without them the foot would be discouraged, and the Moors emboldened to break the truce. "It is certain that the recruits of Spanish and English horse gave new life to the courage of our men."[1]

The time of the evacuation of Tangier was, however, now close at hand; early in 1684 the four troops of horse returned home, and with two new troops were constituted a regiment, with the title of "the King's Own Royal Regiment of Dragoons." The words "King's Own" were discontinued soon afterwards, and the regiment was then styled "the Royal Regiment of Dragoons."[2]

The Grenadiers—at first called "Granadeers"—took little part in the defence of Tangier until 1680, when they did good work in the Moorish trenches round the besieged city.

The hand-granade was then a new weapon in English warfare. It was invented in the sixteenth century, but little used until the eighteenth, and was not carried as part of the regular armament in English regiments, until 1678.[3]

At first a certain number of the tallest and most active men were picked from each company to carry granades. Almost immediately the grenadiers of each regiment were formed into a separate company.[4] The company of Scottish

[1] Kirke's Report, 29th June 1682 (C.O. 279, 29, 305).

[2] Cannon, "Historical Record of 1st Royal Dragoons," 8 and 9.

[3] Walton, "History of British Army," pp. 350, 351. "The 'granado' was a small globular shell of iron of from 1 to 2 in. in diameter, filled with powder and having a touch-hole into which was inserted a wooden tube filled with a fuse compounded of fine powder tempered with charcoal dust. The Granadeer, having quickened the fuse from his lighted match, threw the granade with the hand: such missiles falling thickly and bursting amongst knots of the enemy, caused not only wounds but possibly a confusion that might be turned to the advantage of the attacking party." *Cf.* also Fortescue, i. 324. "Hand-granadoes" were among the first list of necessaries asked for, for Tangier in 1662.

[4] Walton, p. 18.

grenadiers attached to Dunbarton's Regiment (1st Royals) came to Tangier from Ireland with the rest of the regiment in 1680,[1] and a company of naval grenadiers under Vice-

[1] Robert Hodges was Captain of Grenadiers. (Dalton, "Army Lists," i. 240, 319. Cannon, "Historical Record of 1st Royals," 60.) The following song was evidently composed at this time for the grenadiers of this regiment. *Roxburghe Ballads*, ii. 582. "A proper New Ballad, entitled the *Granadeer's Rant*, to its own proper New Tune, *Hey the Brave Granadeers Ho.*"

"Captain Hume is bound to Sea
Hey boyes, ho boyes.
Captain Hume is bound to Sea
Ho.
Captain Hume is bound to Sea
And his brave Companie,
Hey the brave Granadeers
Ho.

"We'le drink no more Irish beer
Hey boyes, ho boyes, etc.,
We'le drink no more Irish beer,
For we're all bound to Tangier
Hey the brave Granadeers
Ho.

"We'le drink the Spanish Wine
Hey boyes, ho boyes, etc.,
We'le drink the Spanish Wine
And court their Ladies fine
Hey the brave Granadeers
Ho.

"Now we're upon the Sounds
Hey boyes, ho boyes, etc.
Every man's health goes round
Hey the brave Granadeers
Ho.

"When we came to Cails* on Shore
Hey boyes, ho boyes, etc.,
We made the Guns to roar
Hey the brave Granadeers
Ho.

"Now we drink the Spanish Wine
Hey boyes, ho boyes, etc.,
And kiss their Ladies fine
Hey the brave Scottish boyes
Ho.

"When we do view Tangier
Hey boyes, ho boyes, etc.
Now we do view Tangier
We'le make these proud Mores to fear
Hey the brave Granadeers
Ho.

* Cales (Cadiz).

Admiral Herbert, also took part in the fighting during the siege of this year.

The grenadiers were soon found to be "extraordinary serviceable," and Kirke proposed the formation of a company of "100 Granadeers" for each regiment at Tangier. This proposal was followed by an order from the Commissioners received in January 1683, that Captain Matthews' Company (of the old Regiment), and Captain Trelawny's Company (of the 2nd Tangier Regiment) should be converted into grenadiers. These, with some volunteers from the King's Battalion, made up two very good companies, each sixty strong.

"When we come to Tangier Shore
Hey boyes, ho boyes, etc.,
When we land on Tangier Shore
We'le make our Granads to roar
Hey the brave Granadeers
Ho.

"When we come upon the Mould
Hey boyes, ho boyes, etc.,
We'le make these proud Mores to yeeld
Hey the brave Scottish boyes
Ho.

"When we come upon the Wall
Hey boyes, ho boyes, etc.,
We'le make these proud Mores to fall
Hey the brave Granadeers
Ho.

"There's Hacket, Hume and Hodge
Hey boyes, ho boyes, etc.,
In Charles's Fort shall lodge.
Hey the brave Granadeers
Ho.

"Hacket led on the Van
Hey boyes, ho boyes, etc.,
Hacket led on the Van
Where was kill'd many a man
Hey the brave Scottish boyes
Ho.

"Sixty brave Granadeers
Hey boyes, ho boyes,
Sixty brave Granadeers
Ho.

"Sixty brave Granadeers
Beat the Mores from Tangiers
Hey the brave Scottish boyes
Ho."

The surveillance of fortifications and all engineering services at this time came within the province of the Surveyor-General of the Ordnance.[1] The building of fortifications and engineering works generally at Tangier were almost entirely carried out by private soldiers of the Governor's regiment, detailed for the purpose, under the superintendence of a specially appointed Engineer-General.[2] During the siege of 1680 the Engineer-General sent home a request for "Derbyshire men for mineing";[3] and in response to this an independent company of miners was specially raised for Tangier, and sent out under command of Captain Richard Bassett. The company consisted of one sergeant, two corporals, and forty-seven miners from Cornwall.[4]

The Artillery and all "Stores of War" were also controlled by the Office of Ordnance. At the head of this department was the Master-General of the Ordnance, who received his orders direct from the Privy Council; under him was the Lieutenant-General of the Ordnance, who was responsible for the efficiency and readiness of the train of artillery, and was also charged with the duty of preparing estimates for military and naval stores and of arranging for contracts for their supply.[5]

An unfavourable report of the affairs of the Ordnance department at Tangier was drawn up in 1680 by the storekeeper, Francis Povey, who wrote:—

"The troublesome and tedious *Survey of the Stores of*

[1] Walton, *op. cit.*, 723.

[2] Sir Hugh Cholmley had a few "masons and miners" who were not soldiers, working on the Mole. Sir Martin Beckman was appointed Engineer-General of Tangier, 28th August 1662 (Walton, App. LXXXVI. from Harl. MSS., 6844). Sir Bernard de Gomme, the King's Engineer-General, improved the fortifications in 1664 and 1665 (Heathcote MSS., Report, pp. 157, 190).

[3] Beckman to Geo. Legge, Lieutenant-General of His Majesty's Ordnance, 12th July 1680 (W.O. Ord. Misc. 1082, f. 151).

[4] Dalton, i. 275, and W.O. Ord. Misc., 1082, f. 250.

[5] Fortescue, *op. cit.*, 309, 310; Walton, 720-729. "After the Restoration the affairs of the Ordnance were administered by a Board of which Lord John Berkeley was the chief, but a return to the master-ship was shortly made, and Sir Thos. Chichely, whose term expired in 1679, was the first to be styled Master-General. After him, the office was again placed in the hands of a Board until 1681, when George Legge, Lord Dartmouth, was appointed Master-General of the Ordnance" (Walton, 721).

Warr belonging to this office here I finished the 10th day of May excepting the Gunns wch were constantly imployed against the Moores . . . here is good storehouses but noe care has been us'd to preserve the Stores, I could not tell when first I came whither there was any Serviceble Stores, all being cover'd wth unusble stores and dust. . . . I have bin at an extraordinary charge more then I could have thought, I never came in any place soe exacting as this."[1]

Carelessness was responsible for a great deal of waste. On one occasion six thousand shot fell into the sea through the breaking of the paling against which they were piled.[2] Confusion was often caused by the practice of keeping the garrison and navy stores in the same store-house in York Castle.[3] Sir Palmes Fairborne tried to keep some order by requesting Povey to issue no stores for the navy without his consent. He considered it his own business to supervise both stores and storekeeper, and thought the latter pretended to more perquisites than he ought; but Povey, being responsible to the Officers of the Ordnance, resented all assumption of authority on the part of the Governor. He privately informed the Ordnance officers that Sir Palmes asked for more spare gun-carriages than were necessary, and issued orders for more carpenter's materials by half than they really needed to use.[4]

The first establishment for Tangier of 1661 allowed for 6 gunners, 6 gunners' mates and 12 mattrosses; (gunners' assistants) the establishment of 1668 allowed for 6 gunners and 18 mattrosses, and that of 1674/5 for 16 gunners.[5]

[1] Francis Povey to Officers of the Ordnance, 3rd June 1680 (Ord. Misc., 1082, f. 143).

[2] *Ibid.*, f. 144.

[3] Add. MSS., 19872, 36. The Victuallers for the Navy petitioned the King and Lords of the Admiralty, who are of the Commission of Tangier also, for separate store-rooms from those used by Sir Denis Gauden and his partners, victuallers to the Garrison. His Majesty and my L rds direct that Mr Shere should assign them the unused store-rooms in the Mole.—S. Pepys, Derby House, 11th December 1677.

[4] W.O. Ord. Misc., 1082, 149.

[5] In the first two establishments, gunners were allowed 18d. a day, gunners' mates, 12d.; mattrosses, 10d. in 1001 and 12d. in 1668; in 1674/5 gunners

The master-gunner was instructor of gunnery and was expected to keep a register of the number and nature of the different cannon in use. The fire-master was charged with the direction of the laboratory, the manufacture of powder, rockets, fire-balls, etc.[1]

The efficiency of the artillery at Tangier was usually impaired by want of good men. In June 1680 there were but eight gunners doing duty. Povey reported that the late master-gunner used to return carriages as unusable and then use or sell them himself, and his successor, one Job Atkins, was apparently no better. "He is an ignorant sottish fellow," said Povey, "I am sure I shall never gett a just acco[t] if any from him and all the rest are like him."[2] During the siege of 1680 the store-master was forced to fill the position of master-gunner and fire-master, and Fairborne gave him a commission of "Comptroller of the Ordnance," a post not in the Establishment.

On 16th June, the *Adventure*, arriving with stores and ammunition, brought five gunners, but not very efficient men, if Povey's account may be trusted; one said he was blind, another "cry'd and blubber'd and told Sir Palmes he knew nothing but was forc'd to come, and the third though small was very willing to do anything, but Sir Palmes does not like him." "If they are discharg'd," Povey adds, "I am sure I can find seamen that would be glad to embrace the Imploy[mt] and will think themselves Princes."[3]

The artillery had improved not at all by 1681, Povey was still complaining of the defects in the Ordnance department and of the gunners, seven of whom among those last sent had been removed by Colonel Kirke as incapable of doing

were allowed only 12d. This establishment gives the following "to depend on the Ma[r] of the Ord[nce]."

	Per Annum. £	s.	d.
Engineer at 6s. per diem	109	10	0
Storekeeper for Am[n] and Stores for Self and Assistances at 6s. 8d.	121	13	4
Master Carpenter	54	12	0
Fire Master at 5s.	91	5	0
Master Gunner at 3s.	54	15	0
A Gunsmith at 2s. 6d.	45	12	0

[1] Walton, p. 725. [2] W.O. Ord. Misc., 1082, f. 143. [3] *Ibid.*, f. 145.

duty, and "the fire-master was certainly a most ignorant person as to the knowledge of any ingredient save brandy."[1] Kirke too wrote that the great guns were the worst that ever were in any garrison—the worst gunners that ever man saw—and the master-gunner not fit to command anything—the officers that belong to the train are the saddest souls God ever put life into—and of thirty-three gunners not ten know the gun from the carriage and not two men in the town understand the art of gunnery.[2] Kirke's letters overflow with exasperated exaggeration, but—all annoyance allowed for—there can be no doubt that the gunners were very inefficient.

The guns most in use at Tangier were Culverin, Demi-culverin and 12-pounders. The survey of 1676 gives the numbers of "the Ordinance" as 170, brass, 30, iron, 120, unmounted, 20.[3]

In September 1680 Colonel Fairborne reported that fifty whole culverin and 24-pounders would be of the greatest value, not only on account of their greater efficiency, but also because the spent shot from them would be useless to the Moors, who had no guns larger than 12-pounders and demi-culverin, to supply which they gave "8d. or 10d. for every bullet their men finds which hath bin shot."[4] The great guns were reported to be very defective. In October

[1] Francis Povey to Colonel George Legge, 17th May, 1681 (Dartmouth MSS., Report, i. 61).

[2] Kirke to George Legge (Dartmouth MSS., Report, i. 61, 64, 72, 73).

[3] Davis, i. 216, quotes "an undated paper" (apparently from the Dartmouth MSS.) which gives the following list of guns at Tangier.

"Cannon of 7 in.	1
Demy Cannon	1
Culverings	28
Demy Culverings	62
Sakor	10
Falcon	5
12-Pounders	25
6-Pounders	6
3-Pounders	2
Falconnett	6

"Municon, viz.:—Corn powder for ye Ordnance. For small arms for 1,600. 500 Musketts, Matchlocks; 500 Musketts, Snaphauners. The Matchlocks are valued at 15s. each and the Snaphauners at 17s. each."

[4] Colonel Fairborne to Sir L. Jenkins, 6th September 1680 (C.O. 279, 26, 57 *et seq.*).

1680, three of them burst, killing and wounding several men.[1]

The infantry at Tangier was armed part with "muskets, matchlocks" and part with "muskets, snaphangers."[2] Pikes were also used by the infantry (one-third of a company were usually pike-men), and proved very useful in the Moorish trenches in 1680, and it appears that a form of bayonet, a weapon then just coming into use, was occasionally used to supplement the pike.

All necessaries of equipment and arms as well as food and clothing for the garrison, were sent out customs free.[3] An Ordnance estimate for 1679 enumerates:—

"Musquetts, long pikes, Partizans, halbertts, drumms furnd, Bandaliers, Swords. New flock beds with quilt, bolster, Redding rug and blanket, sheetes and wast-belts of neats' leather for swords."[4]

The arms sent were sometimes defective, and were frequently damaged in use. In 1680 Sir Palmes Fairborne reported:

"the Office of Ordnance hath sent an account of 100 firelocks and a 1000 matchlocks to have come with this supply, not one hath yet appeared and the Comissary of the Stores

[1] C.O. 279, 26, 128, 6th October 1680, and Dartmouth MSS., Report, i. 52, 7th October 1680. Martin Beckman to Colonel George Legge.

[2] The Matchlock, a musket fired by means of a piece of slow match, was in general use in the army at the time of the Restoration, but was gradually superseded by the "Snaphans, Firelock, Flintlock or Fusil" (Walton, pp. 328, 331, and Soc. Eng., iv. 510). In 1680 Fairborne asked for two thousand firelocks instead of matchlocks, and forty ton of musket bullets (C.O. 279, 26, 149-150, 10th October 1680. Fairborne to Sunderland.).

[3] Cal. of Treasury Books, *passim*.

[4] Half-pikes, partizans and halberds were borne by officers and N.C. officers, only, rather as emblems of authority than fighting arms. (Walton, 353). Bandaliers = wooden tubes of which a dozen were attached by thongs or strings to a shoulder-belt (or "collar") each of which held one charge of powder (Walton, 329. Soc. Eng., iv. 510 (illust.)). In 1675 the *Chichley* frigate took Ordnance stores to Tangier, including "20 demi-culverin (iron), 1,500 snaph. muskets, packed in mats, 350 flock beds, 500 pr. sheets, 12 muscovia lights, linseed oil, paper," etc. (Cal. of Treasury Books, iv. 693).

For the subject of arms and accoutrements, see Walton, xxi., and for uniforms and equipment, Walton, xxii., Soc. Eng., iv. 510, 511, and Cannon, "Historical Records of the British Army."

assures me not one is come, which is a great disappointment, for there is never a day that 50 or 60 armes is not spoyled soe that unless a speedy supply be sent both of them and iron potts I must give over fighting and eating, for without the one and the other, nothing can be done."[1]

At the beginning of the Occupation the privilege of conferring promotion was placed entirely in the hands of the Governor, in his capacity of Commander-in-Chief,[2] and nominally went by seniority, subject to merit. The King's order to Lord Teviot was:

"that for the future all officers and souldiers serveing may be the better incouraged in the performance of their duty, you shall declare our Pleasure to have been signified to you that officers happening to die, Those under them deserveing it shall gradually succeed, we ourselves promiseing hereby not to recomend any strangers to their prejudice, also you shall observe this rule."[3]

This order was no better observed than most of those issued by Charles II. Court favour was found to be a surer road to advancement than any merit or service. The officer home on leave, often extended far beyond the three months of the regulations,[4] who could gain the patronage of the Secretary of State, was promoted over the head of him who stayed on duty at Tangier. Each new Governor and Lieutenant-Governor—there were eleven in twenty-two years—brought with him new men to whom he had promised Commissions. Resolutions of the Tangier Committee, followed by Orders in Council, were powerless to check the evil, which was responsible for the almost pitiable servility of the petitions made to the Secretary of State by some of the best officers—petitions which usually lay forgotten in the Under-Secretary's office, unless accompanied by gifts.

The sale of commissions, customary, though illegal, in

[1] Fairborne's Report, 23rd September 1680 (C.O. 279, 26, f. 87).

[2] Peterburgh's Instructions, 6th September, 1661 (C.O. 279, 1; Davis, p. 16).

[3] Teviot's Instructions, December 1663 (C.O. 279, 2, Davis, p. 54).

[4] *Ibid.* In 1682, officers were granted leave of absence for six months, but renewed their passes at home by the King's permission, "being taken with the satisfaction of being with their friends and the pleasure of an easie life" (Kirke's Report, 18th May (C.O. 279, 29, 220)).

the army at this time,[1] does not appear to have been usual at Tangier until the later years of the Occupation, when Kirke complained of the liberty of Captains to sell their commissions to whom they pleased, "which comes very hard on Lieu^ts^ hoping for promotion." Soon after this an order was received confirming the rule which forbade the sale of commissions, except with the consent of the Commander-in-Chief.[2]

There were no doubt many hard cases of good men passed over for want of interest. "Neither meritt of suffering or service availes for our reliefe," said Henry Shere, but good service was not always unrecognised. The King expressed a genuine interest in the welfare of the garrison. When Peterburgh left England in 1661 he was specially desired by Charles to "lett those honest men knowe who are along with you that they shall allwayes be in my particular care and protection as persons that venture themselves in my service." In 1663 the King commanded Teviot "to let all the officers and souldiers of the garrison know how well satisfied wee are with their behaviour in the late actions,"[3] and to assure them that they should be rewarded. The Commander-in-Chief was to report cases of special merit to this end. In 1664 five medals and chains were sent to Tangier for distribution by the Lieutenant-Governor, after the late fighting. One of these was awarded to Colonel Alsop, another to Sir Tobias Bridges; the recipients of the other three are not named.[4] This is the only recorded instance during this reign of the conferring of medals as rewards for military service.[5]

More substantial recompense was not always wanting; the records of "moneys paid for Secret Services" of Charles II. and James II. give many instances of "bounties" granted to officers in consideration of wounds received at Tangier,[6]

[1] Walton, 450.

[2] Kirke to Jenkins, 17th May 1683 (C.O. 279, 31, f. 307).

[3] Teviot's instructions (C.O. 279, 2, f. 170).

[4] Letters from Fitzgerald and Bridges, 3rd September and 28th October 1664 (C.O. 279, 3, ff. 251, 254).

[5] Walton, 607.

[6] Moneys received and paid for secret services of Charles II. and James II. (Camden Soc., 1851), *e.g.*, p. 121, 22nd March 1685, To Captain Thomas St John, £200. P. 111, To Sir John Lanier, 29th September 1685, £450 for nine

and out of the "extraordinary sum" of £50,000 assigned for the expenses of 1680, £871, 16s. 0d. was set aside as "bounty and reward for disabled officers and soldiers."[1]

The discipline of the garrison was regulated by the "Lawes and Ordinances of War established for the better governing his Majesties Forces in the Kingdoms of Sus, Fez, and Morocco" which set forth in detail the duties of officers and soldiers and the penalties attached to their neglect.[2]

Discipline was on the whole well maintained, though the hardships endured by the troops, many of whom were recruits unused to soldiering, caused a discontent which found its expression in frequent desertion. Occasionally men would try to escape by boat to Spain. In November 1662, five soldiers were executed for trying to follow some of their "comragges" who ran away to the Moors.[3] Throughout the Occupation Moorish promises of reward from time to time induced a soldier to "turn Turk" in the hope of gaining the riches and influence which sometimes fell to the share of a renegade, though the fate that more often awaited him was nothing better than a cruel slavery. "Our soldiers do but too often run blindly into greater misery . . . by deserting and turning Moors," wrote Colonel Kirke, in 1682. In 1669 Colonel Norwood reported that a Court Martial was hanging mutineers "whose case I pity, their temptations are so great," but only once during the Occupation, in 1676, was there any danger of a serious mutiny.

The garrison was by this time in a desperate condition for want of pay. The extra labour demanded for the fortifications at last brought long-suppressed discontent to open mutiny, which Colonel Fairborne "pacified and appeased" for a time "with threats and faire words made at the head

Captains of the Queen's Regiment. P. 22, To William Hewer, Esq., 19th November 1680, £15 10s. "for one and thirty poor decrepit soldjers from Tangier as of His Maties bounty." etc., etc.

[1] Audit Office declared accounts, 311, 1227.

[2] C.O., 279, 1. Davis, i. App. C.

[3] Luke to Williamson, 10th November 1662 (C.O. 270, 1, 136 (received 13th January)).

of every company."[1] He drew a gloomy picture of the state of the garrison, and told Sir Joseph Williamson

"mutinie . . had like to have been amongst us through want of pay and scarcity of provisions together with their hardness of dutty through want of recruits of men. I thank God I toke the matter in time and crust it in the bud . . . besides that wee are two years and a quarter in arrears of pay, wee have wanted for many weeks the fifth part of our provissions . . . the officers being forbid to provide the souldiers closse they are become most naked . . . the poor officer hath not a perquiset left him."[2]

A few days after this letter was written it was discovered that a revolt was planned for 20th June. The mutineers, believing that Fairborne was keeping back twelve months pay, determined to secure him and Captain Bowles, the treasurer, and seize Charles Fort, but the conspiracy being disclosed by an officer's servant, the ringleaders were arrested and five were condemned by Court Martial to be shot, and

[1] Fairborne to the Lords Commissioners, 31st May 1676 (C.O. 279, 18, 363). 'I had them (the soldiers) in ye markett place by five a clocke in the morning drawne up in order to theire marching forth, but of a sudden I was saluted by a cry from them of home, home, upon which I commanded silence and was obeyed, then turning my selfe to some officers by me, againe they cried home, home, meaning they would not worke, whereupon observing three among the rest I commanded them forth of ye body, sent them to ye martialls, and marched them out to their worke where I kept them foure hours according to my usuall custome, being the heat was troublesome to worke them longer . . . and then dismist them after . . . a small harangue."

[2] Fairborne to Williamson, 10th June 1676 (C.O. 279, 18, f. 361). It was customary in England at this time for the men's pay (after the cost of rations had been deducted and paid in to the victuallers) to be made over to the Colonel of each regiment, that out of it he might provide the soldier's clothing (Walton, 387, and Fortescue, i. 318). This practice usually prevailed at Tangier (Cal. S.P. Dom., 30th December 1661/2, p. 194. Privy Seal for £2,000 to Sir Robert Harlow (Harley) for clothes furnished to his regiment at Tangier, to be deducted out of their pay). The 3d. a day in money which the soldiers were supposed to receive, was ordered to be paid to their Colonels "out of which they are to furnish the said soldiers with cloathes, shirts, shooes, stockens, and other necessaryes, the same to bee allwaies bought in Ireland . . . and to pay the remainder (if any) in money to the said soldiers" (*1678*) (Dartmouth MSS., Report, i. 29).

Kirke in 1682 asked that regimental agents might be instructed to send to Tangier "cloth, linning and buttons, not made up coates and hats," but that it be left to "every Captn to fitt his owne clothes." (Recommendations by the Governor, 1682 (C.O. 279, 30, 378 *et seq.*).) The order alluded to by Fairborne does not appear to have been in force for more than a year.

eight others were severely punished. Fairborne's determination and the timely arrival of a few months' pay, restored the garrison to "a very tranquill and sober condition" for a while. In December 1677 mutiny again broke out, but was promptly suppressed by Fairborne, who with his own hand shot down a corporal for insubordination. After this, discipline was well maintained, though discontent was kept alive by "several maimed, aged, troublesome, and debauched raskalls" whom the Governor said he "would faine ridd the garrison of."

When more troops were sent out in 1680, the Commander-in-Chief pressed for

"the payment of the Garrison arrears, which I trust in God will be speedy, for their Lords^ps^ cannot but comprehend it is a great heart-burning to the officers and souldiers of the standing forces of the garrison to see and understand that as well those forces which are sent out of England as those out of Ireland are pay'd to the day of their landing here and advanced to the 25th of September 1680, whilst they are eighteen months in arrears. I hope their Lord^ps^ will consider they are all the King's subjects, and the same care that is taken for the one ought to be had for the other."[1]

Military offences dealt with by Court Martial[2] were usually punished with severity and sometimes with the barbarity common to the time. Attempted desertion was

[1] Fairborne's despatch, 7th August 1680 (C.O. 279, 26, f. 11).

[2] Court Martial Books, Sloane MSS., 1957, 60, and Rawl. MSS., C. 423. Instances of Court Martials, Rawl. MSS., C. 423, 8th February 1661. Sentence of death passed against Private Lawrence Thompson, for treasonable speeches against the king, *i.e.*, saying he was no Englishman, but Scotch or French. 4/14th October 1670, Francis Gaerman, private, charged with going from his guard in the night without leave. Sentenced to ride the wooden horse three parade days during the time of the parade, with three muskets at each heel.

October 4/14th 1670.—A charge exhibited by Widowe Elizabeth Swinford against John Maders, private soldier . . . "for disturbing her shopp, giving her ill-language . . . abusing of her, pulling her by ye hoire of ye head." Sentence, "that he shall . . . at the time of ye parade receive ten stripes upon ye naked back before Mrs Swinford's dore, ten stripes at the right hand and ten at ye left hand of ye parade, smartly layd on by ye Martiall's man, whoe is to have as many if he does not lay them accordingly."

John Hill, private soldier, "found in the streets most wickedly and beast-like drunke." Sentence, "to walke round His Ma^tys^ Citty of Tangier wth Potts and Cupps about your neck haveing a Drumm before you and the Marshall's man with

punished by hanging; soldiers convicted either of insubordination or neglect on sentry were usually sentenced to be shot, though on one occasion the penalty for falling asleep "when uppon the Centinell" was only "to remaine a scavenger foure days to make cleane all foule places neare the maine guard."[1] Sometimes when two men were convicted of the same offence they were sentenced "to throw dice upon a drum-head," he who threw least to be shot or hanged according to his sentence, the other to receive a pardon.[2] A very frequent offence was that of quitting the guard without leave, for which the delinquent was usually sentenced to "ride the wooden horse," a punishment used for many minor offences.[3] Slander was punished by burning through the tongue with a red-hot iron; assault by whipping.

Theft of military stores was always difficult to check. Mr Shere, when responsible for building the fortifications, explained that his large expenditure for "deales" was due to theft by the private soldiers,

"who to light and make theire fires will burne even the Bedsteads whereon they lye and the stayres and flouring of theire owne quarters . . . notwithstanding there are dayly examples of the severest punish[mt]."[4]

In 1682 Kirke reported the "great misdemeanour's committed by Souldiers breaking down and stealing boards and stacades belonging to the fort." A council of war made this a capital offence.

Francis Povey, storekeeper, perhaps a prejudiced critic,

a whipp in his hand behind you . . . and to be upon the parade place at the time of the parade." Another private, for opposing and striking his sergeant was sentenced to be tied up to the gallows four days during parade; another, for drawing his sword against his sergeant, to be shot at the time of parade; another to be hanged for theft of goods above the value of 40s.

[1] Rawl. MSS., C. 423, f. 87.

[2] Walton, 556.

[3] *Ibid.*, 586-589. "The horse was a rough and angular imitation of the animal . . . the back was formed of planks joined at a very acute angle, and a head and tail completed the creation of this delectable steed . . . the ride was made proportionate to the offence, first by its length and secondly by weighting the legs of the rider with articles tied to his feet, and even in these weights degrees of severity were found."

[4] Shere to the Committee, 21st October 1681 (C.O. 279, 28, 281).

gave a very unfavourable account of the soldiers he employed :—

"For men," he says, "I can get none but Sold^rs wh^ch are soe weake that I am confident that one of the Labour^rs in the Tower shall doe more in an houre than three of them can doe in a day and are such rogues that if one's Eye be never soe little off but they are certaine to steale something, I did looke as narrowly to them as possible but yet I feare they have wronged mee. I never discharg'd them at night but I searcht them and was certaine to find either sword, pistolls, thread etc., but could get noe remedy but rewarding them with a sound drub'd coat. . . . If I did not take the greatest care imaginable the d—d soldiers (wch I am forc'd to imploy) w^ld quickly ruine me."[1]

The long arrears of pay were responsible for many of the disorders of the garrison; for want of money the men were reduced to selling even their uniforms, when they could find a Jew, or any one else, willing to take the risk of buying them. In 1679 Captain St John complained that the inhabitants had been buying his men's "clothes, arms provisions and bedclothes and selling them in shops," a practice which would "be an inevitable ruin to a great many debauched fellows" who would sell their own and stolen goods.[2] Proclamations were repeatedly made forbidding the townspeople to buy soldier's clothes, but the men, who could get no credit from the tavern keepers, were determined, by fair means or foul, to raise money for brandy and beer. Hard drinking was undoubtedly the great curse of the garrison; whenever pay at last arrived, it was the occasion of great excesses. Sir Hugh Cholmley says the "poore soldier," usually six or nine months in arrears, "when he gets a flood of money, spends it all in a weeke." Kirke "swore more men had been killed by brandy than by the Moors," and told Pepys

"that the soldiers generally sold the flesh delivered to th m on Mondays, to the townspeople for money, that they might have it in drink, many would drink it away in three days and

[1] F. Povey to Edw. Sherborne, or other officers of the Ordnance, 3rd June and 11th July 1680 (Ord. Misc. 1082, ff. 143, 149).

[2] C.O. 279, 24, 98, 20th March 1678/9.

fast the rest of the week, by which they grew sick and many died."[1]

Norwood and Fairborne did what they could to check intemperance in the garrison during their Governorships. Norwood had a pair of stocks erected, which "shamed away much drunkenness from the place."[2] Fairborne altered the hour of relieving guard from the afternoon to 7 A.M., to insure the men's coming sober to parade,[3] and had an ensign arrested, who, he says,

"is so constant a drunkard that I have been forc't to confine him, and to-morrow will have him tryed att a Court Marshall;" he adds, "we cannot expect the men to be temperate while the fault is condoned in ourselves."[4]

Kirke, though he recognised the evil, did nothing to check it; under his command the garrison became demoralised in many ways. A martinet in some matters, he yet allowed great license, and Pepys has many tales to tell of soldiers breaking into houses, beating people, and snatching their hats in the streets,

"Kirke seeming not at all concerned in the riots, but excusing them. . . . To show how little he makes of drunkenness," continues Pepys "(though he will beat a fellow for having a dirty face or band) I have seen, as he has been walking with me in the street, a soldier reel on him as drunk as a dog, at this busy time too when everybody not on guard is at work. He hath only laughed at him, and cried, 'the fellow hath got a good morning's draught already,' and so let him go without one word of reprehension."[5]

Pepys also says that Kirke terrorised the soldiers and kept many of them in chains, sometimes thirty or forty at a time, thereby increasing the number of desertions; yet Kirke's own letters seem almost to belie his reputation. He appears to have been not indifferent to the welfare of his

[1] Pepys's "Tangier Journal," 30th November 1683 (Smith, "Life," etc., of Pepys, i. 454).

[2] C.O. 279, 6, 63. Letter from Captain Witham, 12th June 1666.

[3] *Ibid.*, 18, 329-335. Fairborne to Lords Commissioners 19th May 1676.

[4] *Ibid.*, 21, 45. Fairborne to Williamson, 1st August 1677.

[5] Pepys's "Tangier Journal" (Smith, i. 430, 432).

men, and made many humane and sensible suggestions for improving their condition and increasing the efficiency of the garrison. "The tyranny and vice of Kirke is stupendous," wrote Pepys, yet he was by no means the least conscientious of the Governors of Tangier.

Many of the officers, and especially the Commanders-in-Chief, were suspected of keeping back the men's pay, and possibly it was only want of opportunity that prevented their doing so, for corruption was widespread at the time.[1] It sometimes happened that money intended for pay had to be drawn upon to meet unexpected contingencies, but an easier method of obtaining money, without loss of popularity, was that of returning "false musters," whereby captains of companies drew pay for dead or imaginary men. This practice was common throughout the army, and, given a compliant commissary of musters, was specially easy at Tangier, where vacancies constantly occurred. Pepys averred that in 1683 no fewer than nine hundred "false musters" were returned in two thousand seven hundred men.[2]

When the troops returned home in 1684 strict orders were necessary to prevent any occasion for complaint in the neighbourhoods in which they were quartered. Lord Dartmouth, fearing that disorders might arise when the men found themselves released at once from exile and from martial law, ordered officers to stay with their regiments until leave of absence should be granted them by the Secretary of State, and warned the men that for the first disorder the offender should be "immediately broke."[3]

The Old Tangier Regiment, being "all used to work" he proposed would be the fittest to carry on the works at Pendennis, if the King still designed to fit it for his service.[4] Eight of the sixteen companies were accordingly quartered there, and eight at Plymouth, and thus many of the men, recruited from the west country, at last found themselves at home. The two battalions of the regiment were at Dartmouth's proposal reduced to one, which was taken on

[1] Fortescue, i. 314.
[2] Smith, "Life," etc., of Pepys, i, 432.
[3] Dartmouth to Jenkins, 5th February 1683/4 (C.O. 279, 33, 57).
[4] Dartmouth's Report of 19th October 1683; *ibid.*, 32, 273, *etc.*

the pay of the King's land forces on 1st May 1684. From this time dates the title of "The Queen's," conferred in honour of Catherine of Bragança, who brought to the Crown the possession which the regiment had so long defended. In an order, dated 27th June 1684, the regiment is styled "Our Dearest Consort the Queen's Regiment." By Royal Warrant of 1751 the title of the regiment became "The Queen's (Second) Royal Regiment of Foot," and on 1st July 1881, "The Queen's (Royal West Surrey) Regiment."[1]

A Royal Warrant, issued on 6th February 1683, determined the precedence of the regiments from Tangier as follows:—

"That Our Own Regiment of Guards take place of all other Regiments of Foot. . . . That our Coldstream Regiment of Guards take place next. After which Our Scotch Regiment and Tangier Regiment."[2]

"The Scotch (or Lord Dunbarton's) Regiment" (1st Royals) was quartered, eight companies at Rochester, six at Winchester, and two at Southampton. Dartmouth's plan for the distribution of troops mentioned Portsmouth as a suitable destination for this regiment.

"I need not tell you," he says, "how old a chore and how servisable men and officers they are, and therefore I choose them for Portchmouth where theye are not to farr out of his Maj^ties^ call, if ever he should have occasion in earnest for them."

The Grenadiers he proposed to bring home himself, to be guards for His Majesty's person, "as being the chose men out of each body."[3]

The regiment eventually chosen for Portsmouth, however, was Colonel Trelawny's, the 2nd Tangier Regiment, afterwards the 4th King's Own (Royal Lancaster) Regiment of Foot. The King's battalion, the four troops of horse (now with two new troops constituted a regiment of Dragoons), and the company of miners, were summoned to London,

[1] Davis, i. 263, 264; *ibid.*, ii. 44.

[2] *Ibid.*, i. 7.

[3] Dartmouth's Report, 19th October 1683 (C.O. 279, 33, 273, *seq.*).

to be "great Eyesores not onely to those that own themselves Whiggs but to all that are not thoroughly affected to His Matie and his Government."[1]

Some fear was felt that the officers now returned home might be called to account for their irregular methods of supplementing their belated pay; but Lord Dartmouth successfully interceded in their behalf. He urged Secretary Jenkins to consider "the worth of the men, the smalness of their pay, the dearness of the place, and the great arrears that are due to them," and begged that they might not be too severely dealt with, "for they truely are souldyers who have sought their bred where finer gentlemen would not voutsafe to come."[2]

The later history of "Kirke's Lambs" no less than the records of the garrison of Tangier, show that there were among them many rough and lawless men, who had become demoralised by a long sojourn in an uncivilised country. Some of the officers were open to the charges of dishonesty and self-seeking, most of them, according to the standard of their time, had tried to make a living at the expense of their men, or of the Government, or both. A few might be accused, not altogether unjustly, of "audacious excesses of rapacity, licentiousness and cruelty," yet their history contains many instances of devotion to duty, of thoughfulness for their men, of courage and endurance in the defence of the town, and of heroism on the field of battle. Officers and men alike served their King loyally and bravely through many years of hardship and neglect; they worked and fought with little reward, decimated by illness, besieged by an untiring enemy, and almost always in want of "all such materials and utensils as could have given assistance to English soldiers."

The historian of the Queen's Regiment speaks with admiration of

"the indomitable pluck and resolution that in the face of the most depressing circumstances enabled them to retain

[1] Dartmouth's Report, 5th February 1683/4; *ibid.*, 32, 57. *Cf.* Davis, i. 261. "Distribution of His Maties Forces coming from Tang^r to ye Ld Dartmouth at his return into England," 20th November 1683. (From War Office Marching Book, 1683, i. 19, 20.)

[2] C.O. 279, 33, 274, 19th October 1683.

possession of the place," adding, "the later history of the Queen's regiment furnishes splendid examples of bravery and discipline, but none of its subsequent services can rival those in Tangier, where for twenty-two years it heroically held the town under the greatest difficulties and against overwhelming odds." [1]

Perhaps the men themselves would have been content that it should be remembered of them that, as Dartmouth put it, "they truly were soldiers, who sought their bread where finer gentlemen would not vouchsafe to come."

[1] Davis, i. 263.

CHAPTER XVII

THE MOLE AND HARBOUR

THE story of the English Occupation of Tangier would be incomplete without some account of the building of the Mole, the greatest engineering work till then attempted by Englishmen.[1] It has been seen that without two essentials, a good harbour, and an effective seaward line of defence, Tangier was practically useless; its value as a naval station and as the starting-point of a colony was nothing, unless ships could ride in the bay without fear of storm or enemy. If the successful building of the Mole were impossible, the Occupation was foredoomed to failure, and the money spent upon it irretrievably lost. From the very beginning this question was one of the chief points to engage the attention of the Government. Before the Portuguese treaty was signed Charles had learned, on good authority, that the harbour, though naturally poor, was capable of improvement. The Occupation was scarcely accomplished when Lord Sandwich, in accordance with instructions from home, made a survey of the bay in order to find the best position for a Mole, which should afford protection to shipping from the violent storms of the Atlantic and the strong Levant winds.

Four months after the establishment of the Tangier committee a contract for building the Mole was given by it to Lord Rutherford (afterwards Earl of Teviot, Governor of Tangier), Sir John Lawson, and Mr (afterwards Sir

[1] The principal authorities for this chapter, besides letters from the Engineers and Governors in the State Papers, are "An Account of the Mole at Tangier," by Sir H. Cholmley, and "A Short Account," etc., by Sir H. Cholmley, and the Dartmouth MSS., Report, and Rawlinson MSS., A. 341 (Bodleian Library).

Hugh) Cholmley. The price agreed upon was 13s. per cubic yard.[1]

The site chosen by Sandwich was on the north side of the bay, where a ledge of rocks afforded a natural though inadequate protection from the Atlantic. The work was put in hand under the immediate supervision of Mr Cholmley, who acted as resident-engineer from 1663 to 1674.[2] He had made a special study of the subject and had gained practical experience in the construction of a pier at Whitby. The circumstances at Tangier, however, added enormously to the usual difficulties of such undertakings.

Cholmley came out in June 1663, bringing with him "about 40 masons, miners, and other proper artists and workmen," whom he had with difficulty persuaded to come to "a place where, in the beginning, so many men had died." The main work of the Mole was eventually done by soldiers of the garrison.[3]

The foundations were begun in August 1663, but for

[1] C.O. 279, 2, 16-21. Contract for the Mole, 30th March 1662/3, also Rawl. MSS., A. 341, f. 95 (copy). "A Mole or Peere of Stone," from York Castle 400 yards E.N.E. and thence 200 yards E.S.E.; 30 yards broad in foundation; 20,000 cubical yards to be completed before 30th June 1664, and yearly at least 30,000 cubical yards, till finished. Also a lesser piece from the east end of the city to the great Mole, with mooring posts and rings. The Commissioners agreed to advance £2,000 for tools and materials, to be deducted from future payments; 13s. per cubic yard to be paid quarterly.

£3,250 in April next.
£3,250 in October next.
£3,250 in January next.

The Mole to be kept in repair for five years after completion, at £6,000 per annum.

The contract not to hold good if the contractors cannot get stone within three miles of Tangier in safety.

[2] He was the third son of Sir Hugh Cholmley of Whitby, Kt. and Bart; born at Fyling Hall, Yorks, 21st July 1632; educated at Paul's School and Trinity Hall, Cambs. Succeeded his nephew in the baronetcy, 1665; married in 1655 Lady Anne Compton, eldest daughter of the Earl of Northampton; he had two daughters; died at Whitby 9th January 1688; buried in Whitby Church (Cholmley "Memoirs").

[3] Rawl. MSS., A. 341, 24, 10th March 1672/3. Mem. that thirty-six seamen were employed on the Mole, and fifteen Italians and Dutchmen, the rest soldiers. Cholmley mentions "a gang of 5 stout and laborious Irishmen" killed or hurt by an accident at the quarries, October 1671. Prisoners were sometimes set to work on the Mole; but this custom was discouraged by the resident-engineer. In April 1678, two hundred and forty-eight men were at work on the Mole, and also some slaves, formerly belonging to the Tangier Galleys (C.O. 279, 22, 146).

some time progress was retarded by the want of materials. In February 1664 Cholmley was called home by the death of his elder brother[1] and did not return till 18th January 1664/5, when he found that more delay had been caused owing to his workmen "being forced to the duty of soldiers," after Teviot's death in May 1664, while "crosse weather" also hindered the work. A survey made immediately after his return shows that 10,558 cubic yards had been thrown into the sea to form the base of the work.[2]

The engineers soon found that the cost of the work had been considerably under-estimated. Sir Hugh Cholmley, in enumerating the special difficulties in his way, pointed out that the Mole was 1,200 miles from any English possession, and that it was the first great pier ever undertaken in deep tidal water. Other difficulties were, the softness of the stone from the local quarries, the uncertain weather, and "the very bad and dilatory payment by tallies" anticipated from twenty-four to thirty months, "notwithstanding Sir Hugh Cholmley his daily complaints." "Instead of money," he said, "he never got anything but orders upon the Exchequer, which were scarce passable upon any terms."

Finding it impossible to carry on the work at the original contract price, Cholmley and Lawson, the two surviving contractors, represented their difficulties to the Commissioners, and the price was increased to 17s. per cubic yard, by an Order in Council of 31st March 1665.

After Cholmley's return, rapid progress was made on the Mole. He soon had about two hundred soldiers at work under his energetic supervision, and would have liked a hundred or two more if they could have been spared from the fortifications. The winter of 1664-65 was very stormy, and Cholmley said he found it hard to keep the men to their work, as they and he also were daily wet to the skin both by sea and rain.

Fortunately plenty of stone was found close at hand,

[1] Sir William Cholmley, Bart., died in 1663, and was succeeded by his son Hugh, who died 2nd July 1665, when his uncle, Hugh Cholmley of Tangier, succeeded to the baronetcy.

[2] Fitzgerald, Lieutenant-Governor, to Lords Commissioners, 25th January 1664/5 (C.O. 279, 4, 15).

which, though soft at first, soon gathered "a mossy coat," and hardened in the water. The stone quarries, named "Whitby" by some Yorkshire miners, lay close to the shore just west of Tangier. The stone was blasted, says Cholmley, by means of mines both large and small, *i.e.*, small drill mines, blasting about 200 or 300 tons of stone, and large ones with 30 barrels of powder, which brought down as much as 10,000 tons.

The stone was at first carried to the Mole by boat, but stormy weather made this so difficult that Cholmley had carts built, and brought it along the shore.[1] He also built "a little town" at Whitby, with quarters for the workmen and their families, stabling for ninety horses and store-houses for provisions and materials of all sorts. Oak for piles, and "deales," were usually sent out from home, though Cholmley sometimes obtained very good wood from Spain.

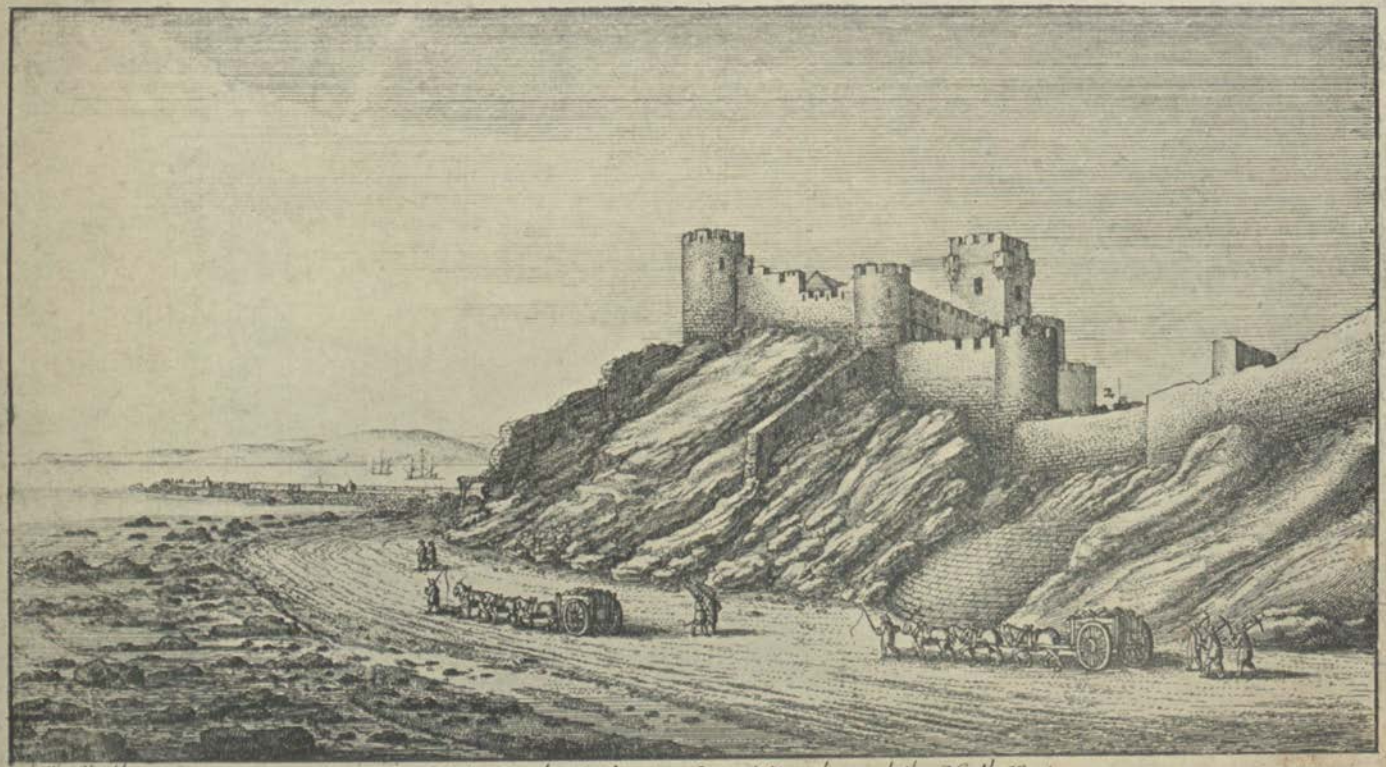
Though many complaints were made of neglect and delay in the work, the harbour being still very unsafe, the Mole was so far advanced in 1665 that a battery of guns was placed on it in time to be of incalculable value during the Dutch war, when the town would otherwise have lain open to an attack from the sea.

The want of money, however, again called Sir Hugh to London. He found it impossible to obtain credit, and could get only "tallies and orders upon the Exchequer which could never be negotiated but with great loss," and he was "further perplexed with an intricate accompt of interest." During his absence from Tangier he appointed Major Taylor his deputy. Much of the actual work was carried out by Henry Shere,[2] a young and afterwards well-known engineer, who shared with Cholmley the responsibility for the Mole.

There was, unfortunately, frequent friction between the engineers and the military authorities at Tangier; Colonel

[1] In 1678 both methods were in use; there were forty-four horses "wch drawes in ye carts yt carie stone" besides several "lighters, sloopes and other inl arcations which ffloat greate stones to ye head of ye worke." R. Polland to Lords Commissioners, 12th April (C.O. 279, 22, 146).

[2] Sir Henry Shere (or Sheeres). Date of birth unknown. Died in 1710. He wrote several technical and other works. Served in the campaign against Monmouth as an artillery officer ("Dictionary of National Biography").


1 The Mould
2 The three guns in the old Parado
Prospect of Yorke Castle at Tangier from y^e Strand and the North-West
W. Hollar delin et sculp.

1. The Mould.
2. The three guns in the old Parado.

YORK CASTLE FROM THE NORTH-WEST.

BY WENCESLAUS HOLLAR.

[*To face p.* 346.

Fitzgerald, when Lieutenant-Governor, refused to make allowance in his survey of the Mole for anything that he could not see, while Cholmley, not unnaturally, wished to be paid for the foundations which had sunk in the sand, and asked that the cubic yards might be measured by the quantity of materials brought in carts and boats to the Mole, as the sinkage made it very difficult to measure up afterwards the amount of material used.

Colonel Norwood, Lieutenant-Governor in 1666, tried to impose his own ideas on the engineers, who did not proceed as quickly as he thought they ought to do. In two years, he said, they could easily make a good harbour for fourth-rate frigates, if they would only push on the work instead of stopping to strengthen and secure that which was already begun. The difference of opinion is expressed in the following letter written by Norwood to Lord Arlington, during Cholmley's absence in England:—

"I had much adoe to persuade Major Taylor (Sir Hugh Cholmley's cheefe agt in this worke) to forbeare filling up a great unnecessary peece joyning to the Castle and to imploy all his force to lengthen his worke into the sea, he pretended Sir Hughes especiall commands to finish the first 200 yards before he went on, but I hope the liberty to hinder him by force, and after prevayled uppon him to begin another 50 yards forwards wch will be done by Christmas to the great advantage of our harbour, wherein we evry yeare lost all our boates wch by this meanes will be preserved and all small vessells of trade secured.

"Perhaps Sir Hugh will complayne at my straining a point of my authority by intermeddling in the worke of the Mole but I hope his Maty will be pleased to justify me herein, I had not patience to see them worke backwards at soe great expence to his 'chequer, since that peece (if it be needfull) may as well be made 7 yeares hence as now, and now can be of no more use to the Mole then the making a Causey at Edinburgh."[1]

Sir Hugh tried in vain to bring the Lieutenant-Governor to a more compliant mood by offering "to reward the services the Col should do." He complained that despite his advances,

[1] Causeway (?), Norwood to Arlington, 31st August 1666 (C.O. 279, 6, 88, 89).

Norwood persistently sent home undeservedly unfavourable reports of his work.

In August 1668 the Earl of Sandwich was instructed to make an exact survey of the Mole during his visit to Tangier. This he did with the help of Mr Shere, and a favourable report was drawn up, showing that 380 yards of the work were now completed.

In the following year the original contract was cancelled as Cholmley was the only surviving contractor, Sir John Lawson having been killed in the Dutch war. An Order in Council of 27th August 1669 established a department or office for the Mole, under Sir Hugh Cholmley as Surveyor-General.[1] A scheme or "model" drawn up by Sir Hugh[2] provided that "In the executive part there should be a constitution of the following principall Officers of the Mole."

The Deputy Surveyor. The Comptroller. The Clerk Examiner.	Two of these to be a quorum and to meet in an office Saturdays in the afternoon, or as occasion shall require.

These officers were personally to supervise the placing of the stones, work in the quarries, and the loading and despatch of carts and boats.

The *Deputy-Surveyor*, to act in the absence of the Surveyor-General.

The *Comptroller*, to examine all building materials and pass them if fit.

The *Clerk Examiner*, to keep books of all things ordered and done at the office, and the account of men working on the Mole, to be given him by the Muster-Master.

Of officers of lesser note two are essential.

1. The Storekeeper, to keep books of all stores received.

[1] Cholmley, "Short Account of the Mole," etc., p. 3. "Some necessity appearing to proceed in the future work in a more solid way than the contract seemed to oblige, the carrying on of the work was reduced into an Office by Order of the King in Council dated the 27th August 1669, under the care of Sir Hugh Cholmley as Surveyor-General, who framed the method for governing the work and issuing the money under such checqs . . that it hath not since met with one single amendment." *Cf.* C.O. 279, 12, 96.

[2] C.O. 279, 12, 97 *et seq.*

2. Muster-Master, to muster the workers four times a day, and take their names.

The Surveyor-General and one or more officers to examine the accounts regularly, and give warrants on the treasurer accordingly. This model was examined and approved by Christopher Wren and Jonas Moore. It was considered by the Commissioners that salaries should be paid as follows:—

	Per Annum.
To the Surveyor-General . . .	£1,500
The Deputy-Surveyor (Major Taylor)	500
Comptroller (W. Wickham) . .	250
Clerk Examiner (H. Shere) . . .	250

All these officers to take an oath to carry on the work to His Majesty's advantage (approved and passed 27th August 1669). The salaries paid to minor officials were as follows:[1]—

	Per Annum.
Clerke of Stores (Woolaston) . . .	£80
Muster-Master (Sandford) . . .	80
Captain R. Bolland	100
	80
6 overseers	50
	60
	50
	60
Chyrurgeon (Spotswood)	60
Clerke to Office	60

Margaret Gotham ye Cooke 19s. a month.

On 18th April 1670, Cholmley returned to Tangier, only to find his reputation much impaired by serious damage done to the Mole during the storms of the two past winters, which raised a great controversy as to the best method of building to be employed.

Much attention had recently been drawn to the new Mole at Genoa, and a strong body of opinion, led by Henry Shere, was in favour of imitating it at Tangier. The foundation of the Genoese Mole was built with "chest-work,"

[1] Rawl. MSS., A. 341, 23, 24, "Rates of Wages and Sallaryes for the Mole," 10th March 1672/3.

i.e., great wooden chests filled with stones and cement, weighing from 500 to 2,000 tons, sunk onto a base of loose stones and rubble; in 1663 some of the Genoese engineers had been invited to a conference at Tangier to give the benefit of their experience and advice, but their system was strongly opposed by Cholmley, chiefly on account of the great difficulty of making and placing chests in an open bay, which was exposed to frequent winds and storms. At Genoa, he argued, the calmness of the sea made it comparatively easy to work with chests, divers were able to level the foundations for them, and it was possible to float them, half-filled, over the chosen site, and then to fill them up until they sank into position with a precision unobtainable in the rough waters of Tangier Bay, where, even in fine weather, 9 feet of tide left only a few hours in each day during which the chests could be filled up. Even at Genoa, he said, the great chests had to be protected by a massive and costly breakwater, itself almost equal to a second mole, which was constantly under repair. The expedient of using boats instead of chests he also objected to, because, though easier to build and fill in a rough sea, they were even more difficult to place and join together; another objection to both chests and boats was the danger of the work falling to pieces as soon as the wood became worm-eaten. Even if it should be found possible to build the Mole with chests, Cholmley was convinced that no solid and contiguous structure could by itself resist the force of the Atlantic, for he had found at Whitby that neither loose rocks nor solid masonry could withstand the heavy seas, but he "happened to observe that a small tree (set up as a mark for shipping) stood the same seas that laid level the body of a work so massy . . . and concluded that this came because the sea had a free passage about the tree." His own plan was to build the Mole in the way then usual, by casting loose stones into the sea up to low water mark, as a foundation, and building on them with great stones cemented with lime and tarrace[1] and cramped with lead and iron. The main work was

[1] Described by Cholmley as "a certain sand made into mortar which hardens in the water. Our Tangier tarras," he said, "took some time to set; that obtained from Naples was very good."

protected by an outer breakwater consisting of three rows of piles, "shod with iron and well steeled at the points," set four feet apart, "the inward piles being set opposite to the vacancy of the outward," thus :·:·:·:·:·: These piles were driven into a foundation formed by *débris* washed loose by the action of the sea from the outer wall of the mole itself, and prevented the further spreading of the foundations; later on, owing to the destruction of the wood by worm,[1] they were supplemented by pillars built of stones of 2 to 4 tons in weight, which were squared and laid in tarrace and bound with iron and lead solder, forming "cubical bodies" 10 to 12 feet square, of 60 to 100 tons weight, set cornerwise to the incoming tide.

The first meeting of the Mole Office was held on 25th April 1670, after a survey of the work done had been made on 19th April. The Mole was now 400 yards long, and Cholmley thought that only 80 or 100 yards more would be necessary (20 yards per annum.) with a "return" of 60 yards to break the Eastern seas. The harbour was already much improved, several frigates "of good draught" having careened there for cleaning. Cholmley himself made very light of the damage done to his work by sea and storm; he asserted that most of the breaches were due only to the inevitable settling of the foundations, and were in any case all on the outside and all above low water mark, while the fallen stones served to strengthen the foundations; he thought that a continuation of his old system, with an extensive use of masonry piles, was all that would be necessary. Public opinion, however, was against him. Lord Middleton, Governor in 1670, wrote home to say that he agreed with Mr Shere, "a person of great ingenuette" that "chested worke" was the only means of making the Mole valuable. "To speak plain truth," he says, "all that is doeing nowe is but to patch up the reputatyone of the undertaker."

[1] Pepys, writing to Shere, 11th December 1677, mentions that he is sending "a small cask of temper'd stuff design'd for the killing of the worme," which His Majesty would like to have experimented upon in the Mole (Add. MSS., 19872, f. 33).

With some misgivings, Sir Hugh at length consented to try Mr Shere's plan,[1] and on 18th September the first chest was placed, though not without great difficulty, the work being hindered by a strong Levant wind. Shere, after being out all night, sent word to Cholmley of the failure of the seventh attempt to place the chest, he himself having been hurt by a fall; Sir Hugh at once came out to take his place, and at last succeeded in getting the chest placed, though not very firmly, and the wrong side out. There was considerable friction between the two principal engineers at this time, Shere being anxious to push on the new chest-work, while Cholmley concentrated all his efforts on the piles intended to protect that which was already completed.

The work went on steadily during the next two years, and in 1671, H.M. frigate *Roebuck* and the *Dartford* ketch, were able to clean in Tangier harbour in two or three tides, better, with greater safety and less expense than they could have done in any neighbouring port.[2]

On 24th July 1671, a meeting was held of naval and military officers and all the "principal people" at Tangier, who agreed that it was advisable to make the proposed "return" to the Mole 50 yards long and 5 broad. They also advised the fixing of two chains 100 yards long, "like those in the Thames," to which the galleys might be fastened "head and stern" by means of small chains with rings and swivels.[3]

Plans sent home in July and August 1670 and February 1671 show considerable progress, the stone pillars and two chests sent out from England stood well, but the Surveyor-General was very anxious about supplies, some ships with stores having been lost. "If timely care be not taken I must be forced to give over the work," he wrote on 1st May 1670, and a little later he said that "if instead of effectually finding money for the service, the answer be in general terms that all care will be had," he would be obliged to interpret this as a command to send in his resignation.

[1] C.O. 279, 13, 56, 10th March 1669/70. "Profile of a designe for the Molle at Tangier," by Mr Shere (showing proposed position of a great chest), based on that of Genoa, of which a plan is also given.

[2] Cholmley to Williamson, 3rd May 1671 (C.O. 279, 14, 206).

[3] Cholmley to Creed, 14th August 1671 (C.O. 279, 14, 123).

In February 1672 Cholmley again went home, leaving instructions for the continuation of the Mole. A year later, on 14th February, the length completed was reported to be 437 yards, and on 28th February, 440 yards, "the whole walk curiously flaged soe that it is supposed the like walk is not upon the 'Change of London."[1]

During the winter of 1673/4 the harbour afforded shelter on several occasions to the *Mary-Rose* and other ships of the Mediterranean squadron, including the *Cambridge*, *Bristol*, and *Roebuck*.[2] A naval officer wrote on 29th May 1674:—

"When the Mole is finished, as it is now in a good forwardness, there being safe riding for a Shipp of neere 200 tuns within it, being landlocked every way, it will be . . . for all His Majesty's ships a good security."[3]

Unfortunately for the reputation of the Surveyor-General, the winter of 1674/5 proved disastrous to the Mole, severe storms causing serious breaches, which furnished a good case to Cholmley's rivals, though he said he "knew to cure the evil . . . if the want of money and perplexities of an exchequer account could give him leave to go to Tangier." He assured the Lords Commissioners that he could repair the breaches made by the storms, carry the Mole 100 yards further into the sea (making a harbour of 4 fathoms at low water), and complete the whole in six years. Finding his proposals ill-received, in June 1675 he sent in another, *i.e.*, that £30,000 per annum be paid for the Mole, quarterly and regularly, in consideration whereof he would complete it (to 500 yards) in four years, with a "return" south-east of 100 yards; the work to be inspected yearly and Sir Hugh either to receive a reward or pay a penalty, according

[1] R. Bolland to Cholmley, 28th February (C.O. 279, 16, 285).

[2] *Cf.* Laird Clowes, "Royal Navy," ii. 244, 245. *Mary-Rose*, built 1654, 4th rate, draught, 16 ft. 556 tons, 48 guns; *Bristol*, 4th rate, draught, 15 ft. 8 in. 534 tons, 48 guns; *Cambridge*, 3rd rate, 881 tons, 70 guns, draught 17 ft. 6 in; *Roebuck*, 6 ft. 8 in. 90 tons, 10 guns (*ibid.*, p. 11).

[3] Rawl. MSS., C. 353, f. 14, 24. "An Itinerary of Our Voyage from ye Booy in ye Noore into the Streights of Gibraltar. In his Mat^es Shipp *Mary-Rose*, Capt. Th^s Hamilton Commander, A.D. 1673/4."

to the work done. When finished, he undertook to keep the Mole in r r for £2,000 per annum.

Cholmley was bitterly disappointed when his estimate was rejected by the Lords Commissioners in favour of a counter-scheme sent in by Mr Shere, who offered to repair and complete the Mole with "great upright chests" at £10,000 less than the amount required by Sir Hugh.[1] Other engineers offered to do the work at a cheaper rate still, but Shere's proposals were accepted, and he succeeded Cholmley as Surveyor-General in 1676.

Sir Hugh was the more disappointed because he had agreed to the use of a modified form of the Genoese system; "he was for building with chests as well as Mr Shere," he wrote, "differing only in the way of placing these chests," which he would have "so placed that the force of the sea should be wholly dissipated by a slope and gradual interception of the waters, after the imitation of nature, that from that position doth in many places guard the coast meerly by a bank of sand."

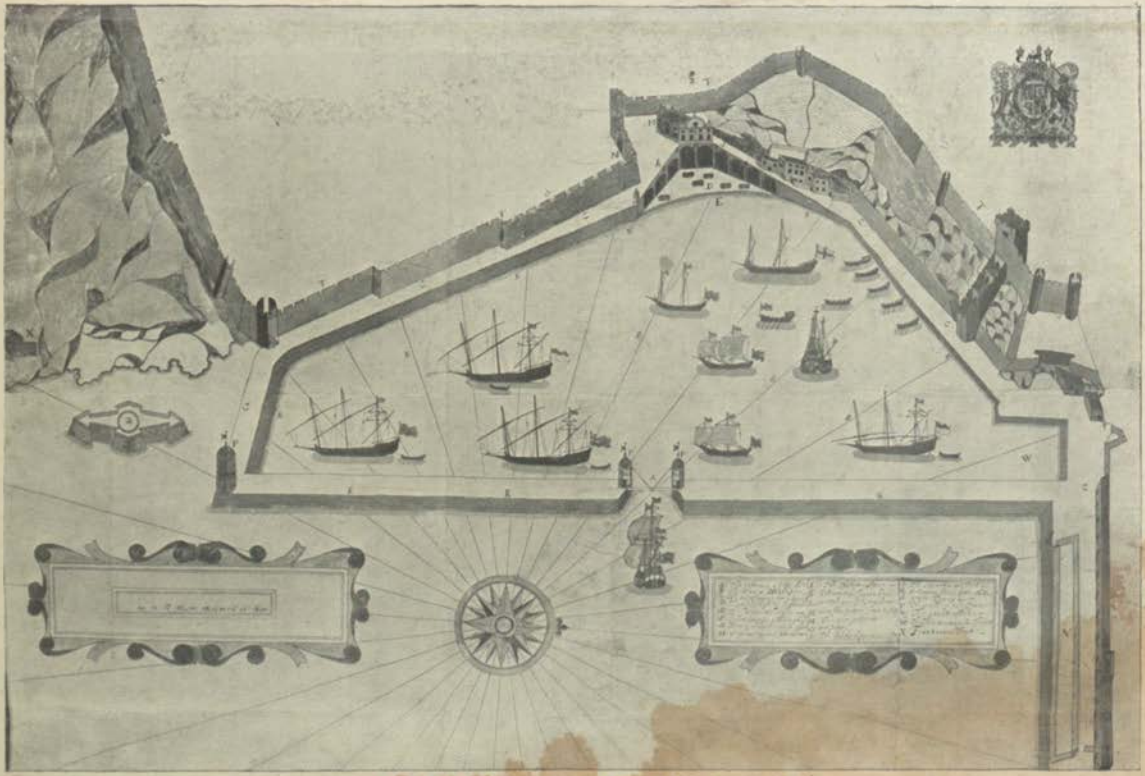
He felt convinced that chests, if used at all, should be not more than 4 feet above low water, for he observed that the lofty perpendicular wall of the Mole at Genoa was more subject to breaches above than below sea-level. Criticising Shere's work, he said: "Chests thus placed wth an upright wall could not be of continuance unless the work was protected in solid and with a slope."

At the time that Cholmley left the work, the Mole, in spite of misfortunes and delays, was the object of much admiration. Henry Teonge, writing of it in 1675, says: "The Mole not finished, but dayly in the summar increased, hath many great gunns on it; and will be (if they goe on with it) a brave safgard."[2] "G. P." wrote in 1676:—

"The Mole is in its design the greatest and most noble Undertaking in the World, it is a very pleasant thing to look on . . . now near 470 yards long, and 30 yards broad, several

[1] C.O. 279, 19, 344, and Rawl. MSS., A. 341, 18. Conditions and articles of C ntract. Another tender was sent in by Captain B lland of the Mole Office (Pepys's MSS., 2899, 13).

[2] 15th July 1675, "Diary," p. 31.



THE LITTLE MOLE, WHARF, AND CUSTOM HOUSE, DECEMBER 1675.

A. The entrance in ye little Molde.
B. The Haven Within.
C. The wharf runing from ye Lazereta.
D. The place before ye Custom house.
E. The Crane Wharffe.
F. Sellers (cellars) under ye way leading to ye towne.
G. Two warehouses each side custom.
H. Weighouse under ye Custom house.
I. The Custome house.
K. East way to ye Custom house.
L. West way to ye Custom house.
M. Way from Customs house to Citty.
N. The Newgate.
O. New Battery.
P. The Scotch houses.
Q. The [illegible]
R. Wall runing within ye little Molde.
S. Yorke Tower.
T. The wall of the [illegible]
V. The greate Molde.

pretty Houses upon it and many Families; on the inner side 24 Arched Cellars and before them a curious Walk, with Pillars for the Mooring of Ships. Upon the Mole are a vast number of Great Guns, wch are almost continually kept warm during fair weather, in giving and paying Salutes to ships which come in and out."[1]

Shere began his work as Surveyor-General at the end of June 1676, and was at first fairly successful; he placed one great chest in September in spite of a strong Levant wind and rough sea, and a second was launched in October. Stabling and quarters for the workmen were built on the Mole, as those at Whitby were destroyed by a sudden landslip. In the summer of 1677 several chests were sunk and the necessary repairs were completed.[2] Sailors from the frigates and merchantmen were called in to help the usual workers, and Colonel Fairborne reported: "Mr Shere's dilligence and care is much to be comended and his sucksess is answerable."

On 22nd October a survey was made of Shere's work; the report shows that eleven chests had been sunk during the past sixteen months.[3] In November, the length of the Mole was advanced to 457½ yards.[4]

[1] "The Present State of Tangier," "G. P." 1676. The Mole at this time was not completed to more than about 450 yards, but foundations were commenced as far as 470 yards from the beginning.

[2] On 4th July the *Craven* chest was sunk, on the 20th the *Anglesey* was placed; on 1st August another chest of 400 tons was reported sunk, on the 10th another of 100 tons, on the 11th a smaller one. On 1st September the *Peterburgh* chest was sunk, and on 5th October the *Coventry*, "a great chest near 1000 ton, wch in a manner compleates the whole repairs." Fairborne to Williamson, October 1677 (C.O. 279, 21, 165).

[3] "Survey of the Mole," 22nd October 1677 (C.O. 279, 21, 228). Since Shere's arrival, 24th June 1676, eleven chests have been sunk, which, with other work done, are computed at 116,306 cubic feet in stone and tarras. Dimensions of the various chests follow—the largest is 83 ft. × 30 × 20. The work has been repaired and secured, and advanced 15 ft. since the last survey of 1st October 1676. Quarters, granaries, storehouses and stables have been erected. The report is attested by Narborough (Admiral), C. Shovell, Walwin Gascoigne (Mayor), Fairborne (Lieutenant-Governor), Trelawny, Boynton, Edward Rothe, and others, representing the naval, military, and civil authorities at Tangier.

[4] Drafts of the Mole (C.O. 279, 21, 287, 22nd November 1677) showing position of the line of chests, *i.e.*, *Charles*, *York*, *Peterborow*, *Anglesey*, *Coventry*, *Old Chest*, *Craven* (in a breach of the slope work) two breaches needing repair and a small chest placed since the last survey.

Shere had many complaints to make of Sir Hugh's work, which he found it necessary to repair. "My P'decessor . . . has had his Quietus from the King, and I wish he may have it likewise in his conscience," he remarked. "The Talud, or slope-work," he said, was built "in a craz'd and feeble manner," the foundations of the Mole were narrow and badly made and the weight of the strong cemented matter, requiring a broad foundation to support it, endangered the whole structure. On December 1677 Shere wrote that during "seven or eight days pritty reasonable weather," he had not lost a minute in repairing the "slope chests," and had sunk three small chests pointing north-east to prevent stones, etc., from washing into the bay from the end of the Mole. In February 1678 he wrote that unprecedented storms had been well withstood, adding :—

"Wee shall be able to careen with ease most of the Frigotts of Sir John Narborough's squadron within protection this summer if the Lords of the Admty shall please to order us a convenient hulk for that purpose, on which subject I have by this occasion written to the Comrs of the Navy."[1]

Irregularity of payment still hindered the work and exasperated the Surveyor.

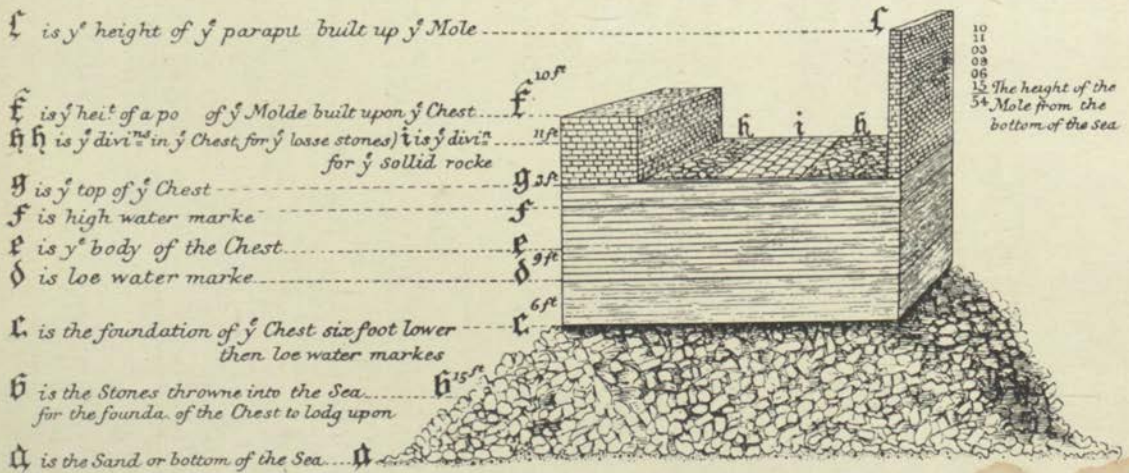
"The want of Sir Hugh Cholmley's arrears is like to prove as fatall to this worke as his conduct," wrote Shere, "and without a very speedy redress in this particular we rowle but Sisyphus's stone . . . this worke is in effect one great Machine, wch is kept goeing with half the Force by which it is at first put into motion."[2]

Notwithstanding the remonstrances of the Surveyor, Pepys, the Treasurer, warned him that he must be careful to buy no materials in advance, for fear of not being able

[1] Shere to Lords Commissioners for Tangier, 28th January 1677/8 (C.O. 279, 22, 50).

[2] Shere to Sir Joseph Williamson, 26th October 1676 (C.O. 279, 19, 230). *Cf.* Burnet, "History of My Own Times," i. 305, 306. "If the money that was laid out in the mole at different times, had been rai ed all in a succession, as fast as the work could be carried on, it might have been made a very valuable place. But there were so many discontinuings and so many new undertakings, that after an immense charge the court grew weary of it."

His Majties great Chest which containes Sollid of Stone and Tarris 21,600, cubical feet now Sunk at Tangers Roade in the Sea — by M. Shere –


ℓ is y^e height of y^e parapit built upon y^e Mole
ℓ
10
11
03
08
06
15 The height of the
54 Mole from the
bottom of the sea
ℓ is ye heit of a po of ye Molde built upon ye Chest
ℓ
10ft
ℏ ℏ is ye divi^ns in ye Chest for ye losse stones) i is ye divi^n
for ye sollid rocke
ℏ i ℏ
11ft
ℊ is ye top of ye Chest
ℊ
25ft
ℱ is high water marke
ℱ
ℯ is ye body of the Chest
ℯ
9ft
ℴ is loe water marke
ℴ
6ft
ℭ is the foundation of ye Chest six foot lower then loe water markes
ℭ
ℌ is the Stones throwne into the Sea for the founda. of the Chest to lodg upon
ℌ
15ft
𝔄 is the Sand or bottom of the Sea
𝔄
5 10 15 20 25 30 35 40 feet

An experiment of thirtie severall mixtures of Cement or Tarris throwne into ye Sea in boxes and there remained thirtie days. the hardest of all ye sorts was this that is here mentioned.) Five eights of Roman Tarris and three of Lime start^d 48 howers beat to^e be as tuff as wax wth as little water as possable then aply it hot & it will gett as hard as stone not wth standing its being placed in the Sea —

June ye 25th 1677

THE GREAT CHEST CONSTRUCTED BY MR SHERE, JUNE 1677.

[To face p. 356.

to pay his workmen,[1] and Shere complained to the Commissioners that "Mr Pepys hath been forc't to refuse acceptance of our bills drawne on him for furnishing the twelve months pay we have issued to the Mole." In June 1678 he wrote again that punctual payments were essential to success, "and (I) am yet . . . without the consolation of your Lord^ps least intimation on that behalfe. . . . I see not which way wee shall be able to support the ill consequences thereof, which without speedy redresse must unavoidably determine in a discontinuance of the Service."[2]

It was a heart-breaking task to carry on work for the Government of Charles II.; it can hardly be wondered that the engineers were driven, one after the other, to the verge of despair. Shere pleaded in vain for financial support for "this poore Languishing Place . . . a jewell, tho' not well polish'd, where neither merett of Service nor Sufferings availes in our Reliefe." The resources available for the maintenance of Tangier were already strained to the utmost. There was no possibility of augmenting the supplies for the Mole, the "discontinuance of the Service" was imminent; just as the attacks of sea and wind seemed to have been successfully repulsed, a new enemy joined the fight against the building of the Mole and threatened the very existence of the garrison. The Moors, envious of the great work done in the harbour, made a determined onslaught upon the place; more than once in 1678 work at the stone-quarries was stopped by a Moorish attack and ambushes were laid for the quarry-men on their way to the shore. These attacks were only preliminary to the great siege of 1680, during which every available man was needed to defend the town against the Moors. Work on the Mole was completely

[1] Pepys to Shere, 11th December 1677 (Add. MSS., 19872, f. 34). "Mr Hewer what with his disbursements for stores by your order and the bills of Exchange he has paid and is by his acceptance obliged to satisfy, has advanced to you to the value of above £2,000 upon the credit of the Quarter wch is to end at Christmas next, while wee have not yet received so much as Tallyes or assignments from my Lord Treas^r even for the quarter ended at Mich. last."

[2] Shere to Lords Commissioners, 5th April and 20th June 1678 (C.O. 279, 22, 140, and 23, 257).

stopped, and the money and materials intended for its completion, as well as the services of the engineers, were transferred to the use of the fortifications.

After the conclusion of peace in 1680, it was hoped that work might be resumed on the Mole, but the question of abandoning Tangier being already under discussion, nothing more was done. Sir Lionel Jenkins wrote to Shere on 14th February 1681, saying:—

"I knew you would be sorry to see the Mole at a stand, but it must be so for some time, so exhausted are we here at home. We expect to see what the new Parliam^t^ will do . . . the last Parlm^t^ was not all kinde to Tangier and some of our leading men did declare wth much vehemence that Tanger was not nor ever would be worth the keeping, therefore wish't it blown up in the Ayr."[1]

When in 1683 it was decided to evacuate Tangier and to destroy the Mole, it was pretended that the work of Cholmley and Shere had little value, and that nothing but excessive and continued expense would make the harbour of even passable use.

It is true that a strong case was made out against the Mole and harbour in the official report of 1683,[2] but it should

[1] Jenkins to Shere, 14th February 1681 (Add. MSS., 19872, f. 63).

[2] Dartmouth MSS., iii. 40-43, Hist. MSS., Commission Report. Report about the Mole, signed by John Berry, John Ashby, H. Kellegrew, William Booth, John Wyborne, Thomas Fowler, Charles Wylde, Cloudesley Shovell, M. Aylmer, Henry Cawerth, Ralph Wren, G. Aylmer, John Tyrell, G. Rooke, Francis Wheler, George St Loe, Daniel Jones, Ran. M'Donell, William Botham, Thomas Hopton, Th. Leighton, H. Priestman, William Gifford, Anthony Hastings, Daniel Deering, and Thomas Hamilton. 13th October 1683. The first statement of this report was to the effect that the Mole was found "to contain in length 479 yards, from the bastion of York Castle, to the end of the furthermost chest. The depth of water, at low-water, to be: the first 20 yards, to become solid earth, at the next 20^yds.^, 1^ft.^; thence to 100^yds.^, 2^ft.^; thence to 140, 2½^ft.^; thence to 280, 3½^ft.^; thence to 300, 4^ft.^; at 320^yds.^, 4½^ft.^; at 340, 5^ft.^; at 360, 6^ft.^; at 380, 6½^ft.^; from 400^yds.^ to 460, 8^ft.^; there, 9^ft.^; and at the very Mole head, 10^ft.^* And that it flows within the Mole at ordinary tides, right up and down, six, and upon spring tides, near eight foot. . . . In the Mole may at this time ride four or five sixth-rate ships drawing not more than eight foot water, being carefully moored head and stern, and within them cetteas and small vessels to the number of 15 or 16."

* *Cf.* Narborough's "Journal," p. 361, *infra* (note 2).

be remembered that this report was drawn up with the express purpose of providing an excuse for the evacuation of Tangier, and was signed with great reluctance by the naval officers who knew and valued the place as a base of operations against the pirates of Salli and Algiers, while Henry Shere, who, by instruction from Lord Dartmouth, drew up the report, embodying "the ordinary objections made against the Mole, improved the most he could to justify the King's destroying it," told Pepys privately that "he was able to answer them all."[1]

The chief points emphasised in the report were: (1) that the depth of water within the Mole was much less than it had been three or four years earlier, owing chiefly to the great quantities of sand continually being washed into the bay and silted up against the Mole, and also to the soft stone of the Mole being converted into sand by the action of the waves; (2) that it was almost impossible to prevent the harbour being choked up by these means; (3) that the ground within the Mole was full of rocks upon which cables were often cut; (4) that the harbour was overlooked by sandhills, and should the Moors bring up cannon, ships lying at anchor would be exposed to fire from them; (5) that if the proposed "return" to the Mole were built, ships would then be so land-locked that it would be difficult to get them out in a Levant wind; (6) that Admiral Herbert and other naval officers found Gibraltar a better harbour than Tangier, and arranged to careen there when possible; (7) that the violent storms and seas would probably beat down the Mole if it were carried into deeper water; lastly, it was stated that the water-supply of Tangier was insufficient to supply two or three ships in any reasonable time, "and that little there is, is very bad and pernicious to men's health." This last argument alone, based on a temporary and unusual condition, is enough to lay the report open to the charge of inaccuracy. It appears, too, from previous letters of the engineers, that the stone of the Mole, though soft at first, hardened in the water, and proved sufficiently durable, and that the silting up of sand, though a real difficulty, was not perhaps an

[1] Pepys's "Tangier Journal," 3rd October 1683. Smith's "Life," etc., of Pepys, i. 383.

insuperable one. The report came to an end with the foregone conclusion that the harbour of Tangier was "altogether unuseful to his Majesty for the receiving, careening or preserving his Majesty's ships."

It is not easy to discriminate between expressions of policy and of true opinion on this question, but impartial critics seem nearly always to have spoken highly of the possibilities of the harbour. There were plenty of men, including Henry Shere and Sir William Booth, who, with an eye to Court favour, were conveniently willing to say anything that Lord Dartmouth desired in support of the policy of demolishing Tangier, but some of the sea-captains were less compliant and held to their own opinions with an independence of which their superiors strongly disapproved. Sir William Booth gave Pepys "an account of the ado he had had with some of Herbert's young fellows to get signed the paper My Lord desires, about the mole and harbour of Tangier," and Pepys remarks with great indignation :—

"It is pretty also to see that no kindness obliges these rogues. I have shown my Lord, to his surprise, instances in Shovel, Wheeler and Matt: Elmer [Aylmer] (to all of whom, especially the last (as being Herbert's creatures) he hath thought fit to be very kind since his being here) of their making a difficulty to sign the paper prepared by my Lord's orders for the sea-captains to sign, about the condition of the harbour of Tangier, and the impracticableness of makeing it a good one. Though they have been prevailed with by Booth to sign this, yet they did declare to Booth their satisfaction in the harbour when they signed it, and will be ready to do the like when they come into England. This is your men of honour and gentlemen! At least the two latter."[1]

Admiral Sir John Narborough, who made frequent use of the harbour during his command in the Mediterranean used to speak favourably of Tangier, "ever believing that

[1] Pepys's "Tangier Journal," 18th October 1683 (Smith's "Life," etc., of Pepys, i. 411). *Cf.* Corbett "England in the Mediterranean," ii. 135. "Shovell was only a 'tarpaulin' and presumably not expected by Pepys to forswear himself to oblige his chief." Wheeler and Aylmer both rose to be Commander in Chief in the Mediterranean.

TANGIER AND THE MOLE, BEFORE IT WAS DEMOLISHED, 1683.

By Thomas Phillips.

[To face p. 360.

station to be the fittingest to annoy the Algerens,"[1] and said that he could refit a squadron there in half the time and charge of anywhere out of England.[2] Another recorded opinion is that of Colonel Sackville, Governor of Tangier, who wrote to the Commissioners in 1681, soon after his arrival:

"I have heard formerly complaints of bad ground and ill rideing for shipping in this port and Bay, I confess I am noe very greate Seaman, but according to my judgement it is to me a very greate instance of the Contrary that in such dreadfull Stormes . . . wee have not suffer'd the least Dammage in our Shipping. The Mole . . . has not receiv'd the least visible dammage, tho' Assaulted by an enemy wch one would wonder anything could resist."[3]

On the whole, it seems that the harbour, which was seldom required to afford anchorage to anything of greater draught than a fifth-rate frigate, was susceptible of sufficient improvement to meet the needs of the place and time,[4] but the advantages gained by the making of the Mole were wilfully destroyed before they could be put to the test of continued use.

The destruction of the Mole in 1683 was the most formidable part of the demolition of Tangier. It was, though unfinished, a solid structure, 1436 feet in length, its mean

[1] Add. MSS., 19872, f. 40. Narborough to Shere, 12/22nd February 1678/9. "I depend wholly on Tangier for a supply of provisions and stores for nere four thousand men about two months hence, soe long our provisions now on board will last."

[2] A discourse touching Tangier (Pamphlets, Brit. Mus., 583, a. 45). In 1673 Narborough in the *Fairfax* "went into Tangier Rode and Anchored in twenty fatham water sandy ground . . . and went and vewed the Mould, the worke fearme. The Mould is in length from the foote of Yorke Castle battery to the Chests, 404 yards, from the Chests to the end now at worke upon, 20 yards more, at the head of the Mould there is 16 foot at a dead low water, 12 and 14 foote water within the Mould" (A Journal kept by John Narborough, Commander of H.M.'s ship *Fairfax*, 1672/3, Pepys's MSS., 2556).

[3] Sackville to Lords Commissioners, 11th February 1680/1 (C.O. 279, 27, 110).

[4] Budgett Meakin ("Land of the Moors," p. 111) says: "The harbour formed by the Bay of Tangier is an extensive one, good in all weathers except during a strong east wind, but vessels of any size have to anchor a mile or so out, as the shore towards the west is shallow and sandy, but on the east side rocky and shingly."

breadth 110 feet, and mean height from top to low water mark about 18 feet;

"amounting in all by cubical computation to 2,843,280 solid feet, which being cast into tons are 167,251 tons. Of this mass 25,000 tons at least is tarrass work so bound in chests, with timber and iron, and so well performed, that it is by all people agreed (and indeed is found) more difficult to demolish than so much solid rock."[1]

Shere reckoned that one thousand men might be employed daily on the Mole, which in that case would take two hundred and nine days to destroy, but that

"the additional difficulty of demolishing the tarras work by great mines and at least 1500 small mines by drills and other more troublesome methods would add at least 25 days to the time above noted."[2]

It was generally agreed that Mr Shere's chest-work would be hard to demolish, but that the foundations and beginning of the Mole, being built according to Sir Hugh Cholmley's now despised methods, would be comparatively easy to destroy. Lord Dartmouth wrote that the end of the Mole built by Mr Shere was as hard and strong as rock itself, "though the former part is but rubish and will easily be dispers'd when the water-breakes made by him to secure it are gone."[3]

It was soon found that Cholmley's work was far more durable than was expected, and gave even more trouble than that of Shere. Lord Dartmouth wrote a month later:—

"The Mole is a very heavy piece of worke and though most of the tarras worke is already destroyed by powder, yet that can take noe effect of the rubbish and body of

[1] Henry Shere to Lord Dartmouth, 6th December, 1683 (Dartmouth MSS., Report, iii. p. 102). *Cf.* Pepys to Houblon, 19th October 1683. Smith's "Life," etc., i. p. 418. "I have been myself an eyewitness with how much less trouble they cut through the pieces of rock than the plaster with which he (Shere) had bound them together."

[2] Dartmouth MSS., Report, iii. p. 102. Pepys (Smith, i. pp. 425-426 and 434) says: "Mr Sheres showed me the whole process of a mine made, blown up with a drill, and the manner of plugging up the hole, so as to do mighty execution." "I also went down into a mine, the first made to try the iron cylinders."

[3] Dartmouth's Report, 19th October 1683 (C.O. 279, 32, 274).

Sir Hugh Cholmlye's parte wch is very great and must be removed into the harbour by hands and labour, but this good will follow that the harbour will be fully chocked up by it. . . . For God's sake, sir, I implore his Maj^ty^ not to thincke the time long, for I protest I doe all that is possible to be done . . . the work is much greater than was imagined."[1]

Every available hand was taken for this work on fine days, and upwards of two thousand soldiers and seamen were labouring on the Mole till late on moonlight nights, throwing the *débris* into the sea to choke up the harbour. At last, in January, the Mole was so levelled that the sea had free passage over it, and only for an hour or so at low water could its ruins be seen.

It was reported by Sir John Berry and other naval officers[2] that the best part of the harbour was filled up,

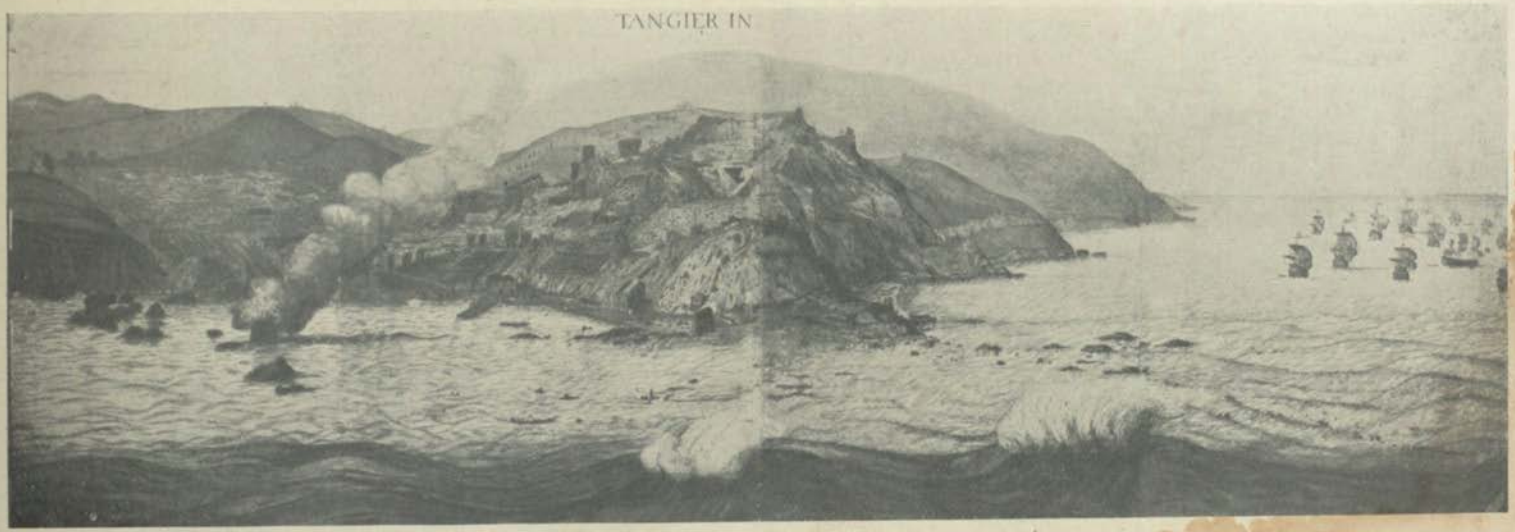
"and several piers of stone run out besides . . . and in the rest of the harbour vast quantities of stones and rubbish are thrown in and sunk all over it, in boats and other vessels fitted for that purpose." The report continued: "As for the Mole itself, it is so entirely ruined and destroyed, and the harbour so filled with stones and rubbish, and made so unfit to receive, harbour, or protect in any manner, from the weather or from an enemy, any ships or vessels, and that in very many degrees worse than the bay itself naturally would have done, before the building of the Mole, that we do . . . think what has been done does fully and completely answer all the ends of making one and the other in no capacity to give any kind of refuge or protection to the ships or vessels of any pirates, robbers, or any enemies of the Christian faith, or any others."

At low water the ruins of the Mole may still be seen, a reminder of the wasted work of fifteen years. Between three and four hundred thousand pounds were spent on its construction from first to last,[3] besides the cost of the

[1] Dartmouth to Secretary Jenkins, 16th November 1683 (C.O. 279, 32, 274, and also Dartmouth MSS., Report, iii. p. 34, duplicate letter, with some variations in orthography).

[2] Report of 21st January 1683-4 (Dartmouth MSS., Report, iii. p. 44).

[3] See Appendix iv. for accounts for the Mole.



TANGIER IN FEBRUARY 1684.

By Thomas Phillips.

[*To face p.* 362.

demolition. To those who saw it destroyed, and who forgot the useful purposes it had served throughout the English Occupation of Tangier, it seemed that the money might as well have been poured straight into the sea. The epitaph of the Mole was written in the following verse of *Tangier's Lamentation.*

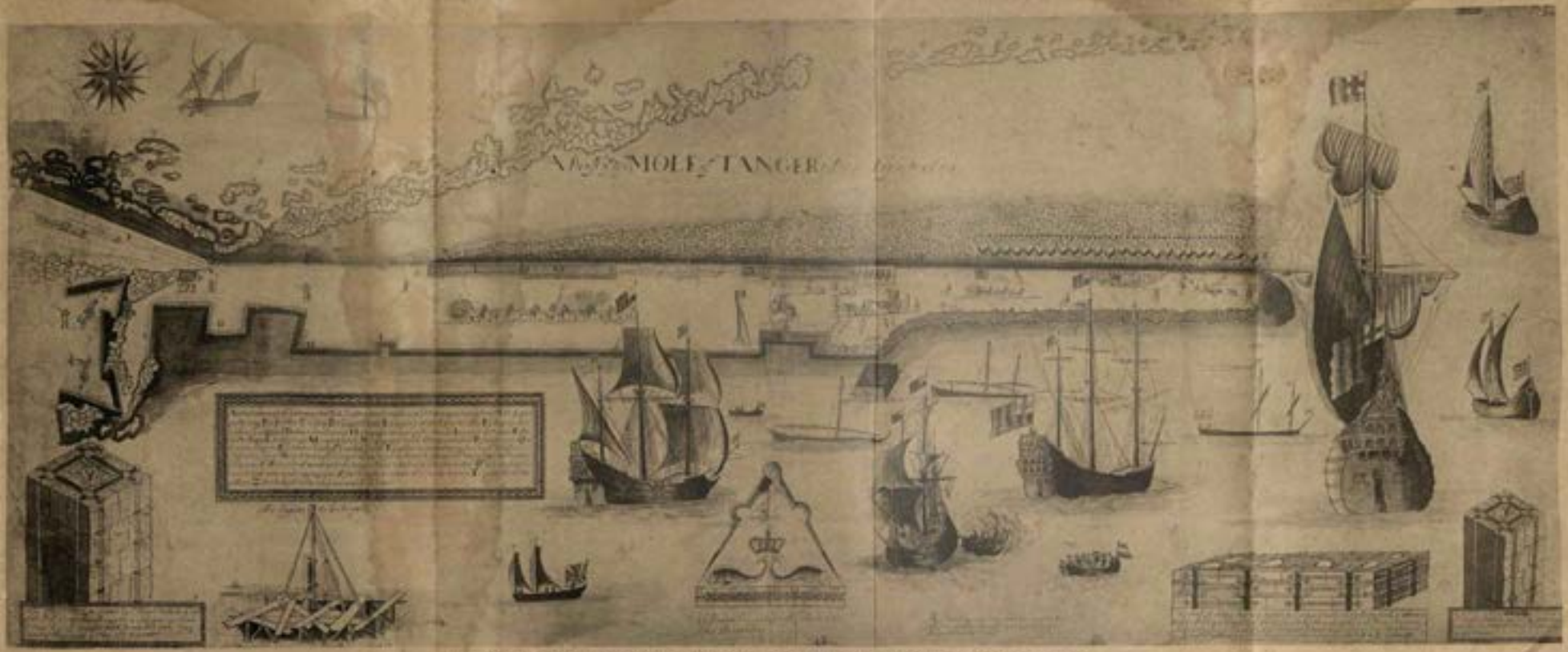
"It would grieve your heart should I impart
The Gold and precious matter
That lies opprest in every Chest
Drown'd underneath the water.
"But now the Mold that forc'd the Main
The Mold so gay and bonny
Is with the Chests blown up again
But ne'er a Cross of Money!"

NOTES BY MR G. H. STEPHENS, C.M.G. (M.INST.C.E.), ON THE PLAN OF THE MOLE BY SIR HUGH CHOLMLEY, 10th August 1670 (folding plate).

Sir Hugh Cholmley's design for this Mole was evidently, in the first instance, simply a stone rubble mound (or bank) thrown into the sea and brought up to low water level, on which he built a superstructure of ordinary masonry-work, many of the stones of this superstructure being cramped together with lead and iron dowels, and mortar used wherever possible. As the Mole proceeded outwards and therefore became exposed to more turbulent seas, it was found necessary, in view of the breaches made during the winter storms, to modify the design for future work, and in place of a superstructure of ordinary masonry-work, large wooden crates (chests) were towed out and sunk on the rubble mound. These chests were filled partly with large loose stones, and partly with solid masonry-work, with iron straps to the chests.

The stones forming the pillars which modified the force of the waves were cramped together with vertical and horizontal iron straps, and the pillars were maintained in a vertical position by being surrounded at the base by mounds of rubble. The wooden piles forming the outer protecting line were driven through the interstices in the stones of the rubble mound and into the sand beneath.

The modern method of building a breakwater is briefly as follows:—A rubble mound of great width is formed on the site of the breakwater. This mound only stops about 20 ft. below low-water level, and the stones forming the top of it are brought to an even surface by divers. The breakwater itself is composed of concrete blocks, say 50 tons each, deposited on this mound. These blocks are dovetailed into each other, to assist each other in withstanding the force of the sea.



A DRAFT OF THE MOLE OF TANGER. TAKEN 10 AUGUST 1670.

A. is the lower part of y^e^ bastion under Yort Castle where ye measure of ye Mole begins being from A. to B. 380 yards long. B. is ye Coller. C. is ye key. D. is ye guard house. E. a key 60 ye norward of Yort Castle. F. ye barrier that leads to ye Westward. G. a key to load stones. H. an angle where a piller stands. I. 2 payre of stayres. K. the smith's shopp. L. lodgings. M. 2 ware-houses. N. ye gunners house. O. 2 ware-houses. P. 2 batteries. Q. 2 Queens stayres. R. ye tanke house. S. ye end of ye Mole. T. ye piller invented & erected by Sr Hugh Chaloner since his last arrivall, being in all 24, layed in tarras & cramped wth lead & Iron works as in ye figure. V.V. 2 peices of wood 15 foote long & distant 7 foot in to ye broake water. W. last winter's breach but now made upp again. X. the length & extent of ye breake waters. Y. 2 peices of the pillers. Z. the bulk of rocke on ye norward of ye Mole.

Three of these pillers are erected by Sr Hugh toward ye end of the Mole being 48^f^ 15 foote square & conteyne 720 Tunn of stone a peice cramped with Iron & lead betw: every course of stone as in ye Topp of ye figure.

An engine to draw 30 ton.

A scale of 150 ft-80. 140-130-120-110-100-90-80-70-60-50-40-30-20-10-0.

a. ye Clermont Brigantine. b. ye Chatham. c. the Anne Brigantine.

e. ye Chest being ready to be played on ye end of ye Mole the 8th opposite to d. d. ye depth by ye scale. e.e. is the length e.d. the breadth.

This wall of stone layed in tarras & cramped with lead & Iron work is intended by Sr Hugh to be built for the North wch the mole from ye beginning of the 4 last pillers to ye end of ye mole, to secure ye mole this winter & soe to be continued wth the mole lengthened ye present designed extent being 1^m^ yards long as by ye letter m.

22 of these pillers erected by Sr Hugh Chaloner are 48^f^ 9 foot square containing from 34 Tunn to 40 peices to 47 Tunn.

vide List of Illustrations, No 34, p. 25.

APPENDIX I

ACCOUNTS OF THE TREASURERS FOR TANGIER

THE following Abstracts of the Declared Accounts for 1660-1668 are given in the Introduction to the Calendar of Treasury Books, Pps. XVI. and XVII., vol. ii., prepared by Wm. A. Shaw, Litt.D.

TANGIER TREASURER

Henry Earl of Peterborough, Captain-General in Tangier.

1661, Oct. 10, to 1662, Nov. 4. CHARGE.		DISCHARGE.	
Money out of the Exchequer. .	£110,130 0 6	Pay of the garrison etc., etc. . .	£ 66,556 8 0½
		Paid to T. Povey .	43,573 12 5½
			£110,130 0 6

1662, Nov. 4, to 1663, May 4.			
Received of Thomas Povey as imprest.	£48,845 7 2½	Paid for the service of Tangier.	£48,845 7 2½
	£48,845 7 2½		£48,845 7 2½

Detailed accounts of the above are to be found in the Audit Office Declared Accounts (Bundle 161, Roll 435, and 161, 436, P.R.O.) for moneys received from the Treasurer and Under-Treasurer of the Exchequer, by virtue of His Majesty's letters under his privy seal, imprested upon accompt unto the Right Honourable Henry Earl of Peterborough; declared before Thomas, Earl of Southampton, Lord High Treasurer of England; and Anthony, Lord Ashley, Chancellor and Under-Treasurer of the Exchequer, 19th January 1663.

Thomas Povey, Receiver-General for Tangier (appointed by commission under the Great Seal, to receive moneys at His Majesty's Exchequer, or elsewhere).

1662, Nov. 4, to 1664, March 20.

CHARGE.				DISCHARGE.			
Money received of the Earl of Peterborough	£43,573	12	5¾	Pay of the Garrison	£120,690	13	2
Money received from the Exchequer	145,000	0	0	Fortifications	11,293	17	1
All other receipts	6,200	13	11	Victuals	8,994	14	3
				Charge of building the Mole	24,840	0	6
				All other allowances	29,298	15	0
	£194,774	6	4¾		£195,098	0	0

Detailed Account of above, Audit Office Declared Accounts, 309, 1218. Declared 9th December 1673.

Samuel Pepys, Treasurer for Tangier (appointed 20th March 1665, by virtue of letters under the Privy Seal).

1664, Nov. 4, to 1667, Dec. 30.

CHARGE.				DISCHARGE.			
Receipts out of the Exchequer	£176,500	0	0	Payments for victualling	£52,094	0	3½
All other receipts	23,503	2	1½	Imprest moneys for the garrison and for building the Mole	109,913	9	6
				All other payments	30,006	2	8½
				Balance due on Accomptant	7,989	9	7½
	£200,003	2	1½		£200,003	2	1½

Same Accomptant.

1667, Dec. 30, to 1671, Dec. 31.

CHARGE.				DISCHARGE.			
Balance on Accomptant	£7,989	9	7½	Payments for the Garrison	£68,936	11	9½
Receipts out of the Exchequer	199,892	8	10	Victualling	51,509	0	9
All other receipts and charges	37,157	19	4½	Imprest moneys paid to the Governor of Tangier for the garrison and the Mole	96,942	18	10
				All other payments	10,939	0	10
				Balance on accomptant	16,712	5	7½
	£245,039	17	10		£245,039	17	10

Audit Office Declared Accounts, 310, 1,220; Declared 1st April 1675.

From 1664, 5 Nov.,
To 1667, 30 Dec.

Sum total of payments and allowances	£89,960 3 0
Other payments	102,033 9 6
Balance due on Accomptant	8,009 9 7½
Allowed to the Auditor	88 0 0
The Accomptant is then in debt	70,989 9 7½

Audit Office Declared Accounts, 310, 1221. Declared 24th June 1680.

From 1667, Dec. 30,
To 1671, Dec. 31.

Sum total of payments and allowances	£131,384 13 4½
Other payments (the Mole, etc.)	96,942 18 10
Balance on accomptant	16,712 5 7½

Calendar of Treasury Books, vol. iii., part 1, Introduction XX. *Tangier* (Samuel Pepys, Treasurer).

1671, Dec. 31,
to
1674, Dec. 31.

CHARGE.		DISCHARGE.	
Remains and imprests depending	£113,655 4 5½	Allowance of Interest	£35,628 0 0½
Money out of the Exchequer	169,931 11 9	Pay, victualling, etc., of the garrison and supers.	133,666 12 11½
Other receipts	4,573 12 4	Imprests depending on other accomptants (representing mainly the cost of constructing the Mole)	123,979 5 10
	£288,160 8 6½		£293,273 18 10

Detailed account of above, Audit Office Declared Accounts 310, 1222 (31st December 1671 to 30th December 1674). Declared 1701, and (duplicate) 310, 1223.

The abstracts in the Calendars of Treasury Books include only the years 1660-1674. The following abstracts are taken from the Audit Office Declared Accounts, P.R.O.

310, 1224. Account of Samuel Pepys, Audited 1707.

1674, Dec. 31,
to
1677, Dec. 31.

Sum Total of charges and receipts	£326,577 6 11⅓
Sum total of payments and allowances	£330,859 3 7¾

Including payments for the garrison, arrears, etc.; (£52,731, 13s. 8½d.); for the Hospital (£1,091, 17s. 4d.); and for the Mole (paid to Mr Shere, £29,250).

310, 1225. Final account of Samuel Pepys, Treasurer for Tangier (also in the Rawlinson MSS., D. 916. Bodleian Library).

1678, Jan. 1, to 1680, Apr. 30.

Charge		Allowances or discharge	
. . .	£149,169 4 7½	. .	£141,677 13 0

And so the Accotant is indebted £7,491, 11s. 7½d.

310, 1226. Account of William Hewer, Treasurer at Tangier, Declared 1701.

1680, Apr. 30, to 1681, June 30.

CHARGE.		DISCHARGE.	
Charges and receipts . .	£104,787 7 4	Allowances and payments . .	£84,829 12 11
		Depending on other persons to account for . .	23,435 11 3¾
	£104,787 7 4		£108,265 4 2¾

311, 1227. William Hewer, Treasurer.

1681, June 30, to 1684, March 25.

CHARGE.		DISCHARGE.	
Charges and receipts . .	£177,963 4 7¾	Payments and allowances . .	£150,815 19 2¾
		Imprests on account (to other people)	30,265 11 5¾
	£177,963 4 7¾		£181,081 10 8½

The charges on this account include various payments being part of an extraordinary sum (not exceeding £50,000) assigned for the special Expedition of 1680-1681. Item, £11,700 from the Irish farmers, received by the hands of Mr Benedict Thistlewayt, agent to the said farmers.

The payments on this account include the following items:—

Pay of the Garrison . .	£62,638	18	3
To the Victuallers' Agents .	56,516	15	7
To Mr Shere, by bills of Exchange, etc. . . .	16,806	11	9¾
Hospital	500	0	0
Bounty and reward for disabled officers and soldiers	871	16	0
Dame Margery Fairborne (1 year's pension) . .	500	0	0
To James Pease, chirurgeon, for old linen, etc. . .	26	0	0
Postage of letters, to Sir M. Wescomb, 31 July 1679 to 16 June 1681 . . .	81	18	8
Various contingencies, chiefly the cost of an embassy and presents to the Moors .	871	16	0

161, 437, Audit Office Declared Accounts. E. Sackville.

1680, 28 Oct., to 1682, 1. Jan.

Money received from W. Hewer	£4,407	3	2
Payments and allowances .	£4,602	1	7¾

Including—To don Salvador de Monforte, for services of Spanish Horse, £900. All payments made in pieces of 8 at 4s. 6d.

161, 438. Audit Office Declared Accounts. P. Kirke.

1681, Jan. 1,
to
1683, Jan. 10.

Charges and receipts . .	£13,058 14 6¼	Payments . .	£14,193 19 3

182, 552. Audit Office Declared Accounts, Sir Dennis Gauden, and others (victuallers).

1677, Oct. 1,
to
1678, Sept. 30.

Sum total of charge and receipts .	£20,471 6 3	Sum total of money dues allowed .	£22,529 6 11

(Provisions issued to the garrison at the rate of 3/2¼ for each man's victuals for a week.)

Audit Office Declared Accounts, 554, 182. Declaration of the Accompt of Anthony Sturt (Victualler), Esq.

Mich. 1678,
to
Feb. 5, 1683/4.

Charges and receipts . .	£107,402 12 7	Allowances . .	£138,090 19 4

Surplus, £30,688 6 9.

Declared 26th September 1685.

APPENDIX II

ABSTRACTS OF SURVEYS—1676 AND 1678

(I).—C.O. 19, 371. An abstract of the State of the Citty & Garrison of Tanger on a survey taken thereof ye 30th day of December, 1676, by John Bland, Comptroler of His Majesties Revenues

The House Keepers		Their Wives		Their Children	M.	F.	Their Servants	M.	F.	Their Slaves	M.	F.	The Church Men		The Strangers	
Cittizens	129	Cittizens	62	Citty	68	63	C.	37	25	Citty	6	11	Priests & Fryers	18	Dutch	4
Molemen	28	Molemen	20	Moles	18	20	M.	4	4				Ministers	2	French	45
Army	40	Army	129	Army	68	75	A.	2	7						Portu^s^	8
Is	197	Is	217	Is	184	158	Is	43	36						Itallions	17
				In all 324			In all 79			In all 17			In all 20		Jewes	51
															Moores	5
															In all 130	

The Army		The Inhabitts		Castles & Forts		The Ordinance		Buildings in ye Citty		Whereof	
Non-Commission Officers	96	Cittizens	457	Within the walls	2	Brass	30	Houses, Sheds Quarters & Churches & Stores are viz.,		The inhe ritan ces Are 85	The lea ses Are 231
Private Soldgers	1085	Mole	156	Without the walls	15	Iron	122				
Troopers	34	Army	1591			Unmotd	20				
Gunners	16					Is	172	429			
Traine	16			Is	17						
In all 1247		In all 2225									

The Possession of the whole Citty Into whose hand divided

In His Mat^s^	5
In ye Officers	50
In ye Townsmen	32
In all 87	

The land without the Walls contains about Acres 300

(II).—An abstract of a Survey and State of Tanger in the year 1678. Shewing :—

	Ps. $
That in Anno 1668, the value of the Houses in this City upon a Rack Rent according to the then Survey Annually amounted to . .	17.701
By a like Survey now taken, the Rack Rent of the Said City amounts to no more than	5.418

The number of Buildings, their Situation and Quality, either as Inheritances, Leases, Quarters, King's Houses, Stores, Churches, and into how many hands the whole is divided.

Number in General.	Number of Inheritances.	Number of Leases granted.	His Matie Castles, Houses and Stores.	Number of Churches.	What the Portuguese possess.	What the English possess.	Into whose hands they are divided.	The total divisions are.
429	85	231	9	3	2	1	His Majty 5 Officers 50 Townsmn 32	87

Setting forth who granted the Leases, the Leases themselves, the time when let, for what years, what fines, what yearly rent, and remaining years of the said Leases which are yet to come.

The Leasees.	Leases granted.	The time when let.	For what Years.	For what Fines.	For what yearly rent.	The Remainder of years to come.
				Ps. of 8.	Ps. of 8.	
Col. FitzGerald	41	29 Sept 1664	21 years	1.484½	1.051½	9 years to come
	6	29 Sept 1665	21 ,,	,,	,,	10 ,, ,,
The Lord Bellasis	1	25 March 1666	21 ,,	177 Rl		11 ,, ,,
Col. Hen. Norwood	1	29 Sept 1667	31 ,,	821	279½	22 ,, ,,
	33	29 Sept 1667	21 ,,			12 ,, ,,
	15	29 Sept 1668	21 ,,			13 ,, ,,
	5	25 March 1669	21 ,,			14 ,, ,,
Earl of Middleton	5	,, ,, 1670	21 ,,	22	66½	15 ,, ,,
	5	,, ,, 1671	21 ,,			16 ,, ,,
	3	,, ,, 1672	21 ,,			17 ,, ,,
	3	,, ,, 1673	21 ,,			18 ,, ,,
Col. Roger Alsop	6	25 March 1674	21 ,,	79	33	19 ,, ,,
	124	In all appears		2.406½	14.383 Rlt	

Declaring how many People of all Sorts and Qualities inhabit ye said Houses.

The City Housekeepers.	Their Wives.	Servants.		Slaves.		Children.		Strangers.		The Sum of all.	Whereof.		
		M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.		M.	W.	C.
129	62	33	25	6	11	68	63	44	16	457	205	121	131

The People of the Mole, in the City, upon the Mole and at Whitby.

Housekeepers.	Their Wives.	Servants.		Laborers.	Children.		The Whole.	Whereof.		
		M.	F.		M.	F.		M.	W.	C.
28	26	4	4	56	18	20	156	88	30	38

The Train'd Bands being composed out of the Citizens and Molemen aforementioned, with the Officers are 261 Effective men. Besides the Portugal priests, which are in, being 17; whereof the Citizens are 173 and of the Molemen 88.

The Army, in which there is among the Staff Officers, Train, Troopers and Soldiers.

Housekeepers.	Their Wives.	Servants.		Children.		Non-Commission Officers, Soldiers and Troopers.	Commission and Staff-Officers.	The Sum of all.	Whereof.		
		M.	F.	M.	F.				M.	W.	C.
40	129	2	7	98	75	1231	50	1592	1283	136	173

So that in the City and Army there are—

The Housekeepers.	The Wives.	Widows and Single Women.	Children.		Churchmen and Priests.	The whole Army in Men Women and Children.	All the people in the City Mole and Army are
			Male.	Female.			
197	217	70	184	158	20	1592	2225
			is 342				

The Land without the Walls contains about 300 acres. Whereof,

For the Horses Hay and in Gardens to the Forts without, is applyed 200.

For feeding Cattle brought in by Strangers to sell and for Townsmen and Officers what they buy, 100.

The Forts without the Walls are 15, viz.:—

Charles Fort, James Fort, Kendal Fort, Monmouth Fort, Pond Fort, Cambridge Fort, Ann's Fort, Fountain Fort, Powel Fort, Norwood Fort, Whitehall, Brown George Fort, Devil's Drop, Whitby Fort, Palmes Fort.[1]

[1] Davis, *op. cit.*, i. 127-129. Taken from the Dartmouth Manuscripts. A short abstract of this survey is given in the Dartmouth MSS., Report, i. 28.

APPENDIX III

ESTABLISHMENTS FOR TANGIER

THE first Establishment for Tangier signed "Edw. Nicholas" is headed "An Establishment of the Forces raised the Xth day of October 1661 for his Maties service in the Kingdomes of Sus, Fez, and Morocco, under the Comand of his Excelencie ye Earle of Peterburgh" (C.O. 279, 1, f. 25, and Davis, i. 19-23).

The total charge "of 4 Regim^ts^ consisting of 3000 sould^rs^ besides officers" is	£59,531	10 00	per an.
Field and Staff Officers and a troop of horse .	6,080	5 10[1]	
General officers, etc.	3,998	7 6	
Contingencies	1,000	0 0	

The "Totall Charge" = £70,610, 3s. 4d. with An additional Establishment for a troop of Portugal horse, consisting of eighty troopers, besides officers, at £4,778, 9s. 2d. per annum, making the "Totall of y^e^ whole Establish^mt^" £75,388, 12s. 6d.

The revised Establishment of 1668 is as follows:—

An Establishment for Tangier. March 16th 1668.[2]

	Per Diem	P. an.
1 Coll^nll^ att	£00 12 00	£219 00 00
1 Lt Coll^nll^ att	00 07 00	127 15 00
1 Major att	00 05 00	091 05 00
12 Cap^ts^ each att	00 08 00	1,752 00 00
12 L^ts^ each att	00 04 00	876 00 00
12 Ensigns each att	00 03 00	657 00 00
36 Serj^ts^ each att	00 01 06	985 10 00
36 Corporalls each att	00 01 00	657 00 00
24 drummers ,, ,, ...	00 01 00	438 00 00
1440 foot each att	00 00 09	19,710 00 00
		£25,513 10 00

[1] Davis has "6079 15 10" and the total, "£75388 2 6." The Portugal horse did not enter the King's service.

[2] S.P. Dom. Entry Books, 30, f. 52, 53 (P.R.O.). The State Papers for January 1668 contain a paper headed "An Establishment for Tangier" (C.O. 10, f. 197-198, and Davis, i. 91-93) which gives a total of £7,999, 17s. 6d. per quarter. This appears, however, to be merely a preliminary draft. The order of 16th March was that which came into force.

30 Horse each att	£00 02 06	£1,368 15 00
To an officer having L^ts pay	00 06 00	109 10 00
1 Corporall	00 03 00	54 15 00
1 Trumpeter	00 02 08	48 13 04
1 Farrier	00 02 06	45 12 06
		£2,627 05 10

The Souldiers to maintaine theire owne armes unless spoiled by Fire or Service.

Since added by order of ye 15th of Jany. 1667 8.

A deputy Govr. at P. an	£300 00 00
A Phisitian to be continued at P. an	182 10 00
An additi on of pay to ye Towne Major at 3s. P. day	54 15 00
	£537 05 00

	P. diem	P. anum
The Govern^r		£1,500 00 00
1 Minister att	£00 10 00	182 10 00
1 Engineer att	00 06 00	109 10 00
1 Judge Advocate att	00 05 00	91 05 00
1 Chirurgeon att	00 04 00	73 00 00
1 Chirurgeons mate att	00 02 06	45 12 06
Quart^r Provost Marshall and Lieu^ts	00 08 00	146 00 00
Commiss^r of ye Musters att	00 06 00	109 10 00
Commissary of ye Amunicon and Provision for himselfe and assist^s to ye Officers of ye Ordnance for Amunicon att	00 10 00	182 10 00
Town Major att	00 05 00	91 05 00
Comptroller of ye Ordnance and Fire-Master to accompt to ye Office of ye Ordnance	00 05 00	91 05 00
Master Carpenter att		54 12 00
6 gunners each att	00 01 06	164 05 00
18 matrosses each att	00 01 00	328 10 00
		£3,169 14 06

Further allowances to ye Garrison of wch an Exact accompt to be returned every six months.

	P. diem	P. anum
For ye Hospitall besides ye Souldiers pay w^t sicke added to ye Hospitall towards mainten^ce	£01 10 00	£547 10 00
For Cole and Candles at	01 10 00	547 10 00
For Boates		145 00 00
For Fortificaons and all maner of Stores and Contingencyes		2,210 00 00
Yearely Imprest for ye Mole		19,500 00 00
		£22,950 00 00

	£25,513 10 00
	1,027 05 00
	3,169 14 06
	22,950 00 00
Totall is	£53,707 15 04

"An Establishment for Tangier, 9th March 674 5" (W. O. ord. misc. 1082. "Booke of Tanger" [Establishment book and warrant book] P.R.O., and Davis, i. p. 108-110), signed by Lord Dartmouth, varies in a few details from that of 1668, the total sum being £57,200 per annum.

This Establishment allows 3d. per diem each to the foot soldiers and "To the Victualler, for victualling 1,585 men at 3s. 2½d. per weeke each, £13,171 15 00 per an."

Salaries to a treasurer, a secretary and a messenger are added to this Establishment; the physician's pay is increased from 10s. to 15s. per diem. The annual allowance for fortifications is £2,000; for "Boatmen, Boates, Intelligence, Messages Presents and other contingencies" £400.

The pay and fortifications being provided for, the "Totall thus farr being £20,034, 4 10, by paying 4s. 9d., wch every 4s. 6d., will be defrayed by £18,979, 16 2."

The Exchequer fees for the sum of £57,200 at the rate of 20s. per £1000 amounted to £57, 4s.

The total charge of an Establishment intended for Tangier drawn up in 1678 is £42,338, 12s. 2¼d. per annum.

(Dartmouth MSS., Report, vol i. 28, 29.)

APPENDIX IV

ACCOUNTS FOR THE MOLE

SIR HUGH CHOLMLEY in his "Account of Tangier," p. 295, gives the following approximate "Accompt of the expences attending the construction of the Mole of Tangier from 25th March, 1663, to the last of December, 1668."

For vessels, boats, floats and other engines, with cordage sails pitch tar and necessaries thereunto belonging	£4,400	0	0
Iron and brass work, lead, etc.	2,600	0	0
Planks, timbers, bolts, etc.	4,300	0	0
Lime, tarrace, bricks, coals, gunpowder	1,900	0	0
Horses, provisions and tackle for them	6,100	0	0
Freight and transportation	10,700	0	0
Pay and wages	41,100	0	0
Rewards, etc.	2,600	0	0
Sundry disbursements	4,100	0	0
	£84,800	0	0*
Money issued to this time on account of the Mole	£103,965	0	0
Expenses from Dec. 1668 to 30th June 1676	139,932	5	4½
	£243,897	5	4½

Add. MSS., 17021, "Papers relating to Tangiers," ff. 3 and 4, contain Sir H. Cholmley's account from 1669-1674, inclusive, the sum total accounted for being £215,935, 6s. 9¾d.

The official account covering the same period is as follows: Pipe office declared accounts, 3607. Account of Sir H. Cholmley, late contractor and afterwards Surveyor Gen[ll] for the Mole at Tangier, from 25th March 1663 to 30th June 1676.

RECEIPTS FROM THE TREASURY.

March 25, 1663, to Dec. 30, 1668.

From Thomas Povey	£24,840	0	0
From S. Pepys	79,125	0	0
	£103,965	0	0

* 77800.

Dec. 30, 1668 to Nov. 20, 1669 . . .	£15,623 14 8½	
Nov. 20, 1669 to June 30, 1670	135,500 0 0	
Total of Receipt	£255,108 14 8½	
Payments and Allowances		£260,670 11 8½
Additional Payments		1,437 10 0
Total expenses		£262,008 1 8½
Deficit	£6,909 7 0½	

Approved by the King in Council and directed to be allowed by Warrant under his Privy Seal, 20th July xxxiii[rd] year of his reign. Declared 13th January 1681.

Shere's accounts are not among the Audit Office or Pipe Office Declared Accounts. He was allowed on the Establishment £19,500 yearly imprest for the Mole. The account of the Treasurer, S. Pepys, from December 1674 to December 1677, inclusive (Audit Office declared accounts, 310, 1224) shows the payment of six quarters allowance, £29,250, to Mr Shere, for the Mole.

Payments for the Mole appear to have been discontinued after July 1680. Shere constantly complained of arrears of the quarterly payments of £4,875, but, assuming that these were eventually made up, he must have received during the four years of his service as Surveyor-General, £78,000.

This, added to the amount spent between 1663 and 1676, makes the total expense of the Mole £340,008, 1s. 8¾d.

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